Italian Renaissance Collecting of Classical Antiquities:

Ferdinando de'Medici and the Villa Medici in Rome

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M.Phil. Thesis

8th December 2000

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ABSTRACT

In 1569 Ferdinando de' Medici arrived in Rome to take up his position as Cardinal. Immediately upon his arrival he began to collect classical antique sculpture and by 1576 he had begun to transform a newly purchased property into a Roman suburban villa. The projects which Ferdinando undertook to transform his villa, which directly centred on the display of his antiquities collection, followed design and decorative traditions employed at other previous and contemporary villas and yet was also unusual. In this study four main design and decorative phenomena, including the statue gallery, the garden herms, the obelisk and the Niobe group, are studied in detail as part of Ferdinando's development of the Villa Medici in Rome. Ferdinando's objectives as an antiquities patron were shaped by the personal and political context of his role within the Medici family and its lineage, and his career in the Vatican. These elements are all drawn together to understand their impact on his development of the Villa Medici. As Ferdinando's transformation of the Villa Medici evolved over time, the existence of the statue gallery and garden herms reflected his early desire to create a property whose design and decoration could be compared with others like it in Rome, while also reflecting contemporary ideas developed outside of the city. In his use of an obelisk Ferdinando made clear associations with the urban renewal projects of Pope Sixtus V, and also made associations to his Florentine Medici lineage and Rome's ancient heritage. With the Niobe group, however, Ferdinando also began to define himself as one of the foremost patrons of antique sculpture in Rome. Ultimately, this study defines the purpose and meaning of Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection and his development of the Villa Medici in Rome.

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PREFACE

Most detailed academic studies of the Villa Medici in Rome are divided into two distinct subject areas. The villa is studied either in terms of its historical, architectural decorative development, or in terms of the collection of classical antiquities eventually displayed there by Ferdinando de' Medici. As a result, limitations have inevitably been placed on the details of how these two components of the villa fit together as part of Ferdinando de' Medici's overall transformation of the villa.

In 1989, however, when the French Academy in Rome began to publish its five volume monograph on the history, design and decorative development of the Villa Medici in Rome, the hitherto fragmented study of this site had, at last, begun to be linked together. The effort of the French Academy to join a diverse range of subjects and scholars to one another in order to create a comprehensive analytical and documentary resource about the Villa Medici in Rome was ambitious. However, the French Academy series, was both invaluable and frustrating for my research. Much of the material published in this series was important in presenting both new material and ideas, but as the two volumes which were the most crucial to my research have yet to be published, the value of the series for my research, and as a whole, remains distinctly limited.

The history of the site, the contribution of its most important patrons, Cardinal Giovanni Ricci and Ferdinando de' Medici, and the significance of both the painted and sculptural decoration of the villa, are all important areas of research that have been covered in the French academy series. However, many of the extensive document references present in the published volumes relate to material in a yet to be published document volume, which limits the value of the analysis present in the published volumes as it is sometimes difficult to justify in

terms of its relative value to previously published material. The most important volume for my research, by Carlo Gaspari, is devoted to Ferdinando's collection of antiquities which was due to have been published in 1994 but remains forthcoming. While some impression of the material can be gleaned from Gaspari's chapter in the second volume of the series, the majority of this new research was unavailable for reference during the preparation of my thesis. As a result, my historical understanding of the particular antiquities relevant to my study had to be derived from the much earlier and more limited sculptural catalogues of Cajano de Azevedo and Guido Mansuelli, along with the information contained in the *'Census of Antique works known to Renaissance Artists'* at the Warburg Institute.

In addition to these texts, the most recent publication to be produced about the Villa Medici in Rome, by Michele Hochmann, came to my attention as I was preparing to submit my thesis. Thus unable to consider the contents of his publication as the most recent in regard to the Villa Medici I feel it is important to acknowledge that any contradictions which may occur between this thesis and his text is merely due to the fact that I have not yet been able to review a copy of Hochmann's publication.

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INTRODUCTION

I first became interested in the Villa Medici in Rome during my junior year at Parsons School of Design. I certainly could not have predicted the impact that this topic selection would have in changing the direction of my interests away from design and toward art history. I chose this topic for my Ph.D. because I was fascinated by the design and decorative development of the villa, as undertaken by Ferdinando de' Medici. At the same time, I wished to understand and attempt to answer important questions surrounding the Villa Medici.

When I first began to study the Villa Medici in Rome at Parsons, I was frustrated that it was unlike the other villas studied on the course. These sites, like the Villa Farnese at Caprarola, the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the Medici villas of Tuscany, the Palladian villas of Venice and the Veneto, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia and the Villa Giulia just outside the walls of Rome, were all very different to the Villa Medici. All of these villas had either a clear and comprehensive iconographic programme which could be easily identified or had specific architectural and design characteristics which related them directly to other villas. The Villa Medici in Rome, however, had not been developed with such clear ideas, and thus, the inspiration behind its design and decoration remained obscure.

The Villa Medici was a Roman suburban villa.[1] As such, its design and decoration conformed to the established format of such properties. By the late sixteenth century, Roman villas included a casino or palace surrounded by a formal and informal planted landscape, and contained numerous displays of

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[1]In accepting the analysis of David R. Coffin in *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, (Princeton: 1979), vii-viii the term itself should be understood within the context of his study of the development of the idea of *villeggiatura* and its related architectural and landscape environments.

classical antique objects, artefacts and sculptures. Yet although the Villa Medici does not fit within the wider pattern of Italian villas outside of Rome, it does conform to certain ideas which were current in sixteenth century Rome. When Ferdinando de' Medici, a young Cardinal from the ruling Tuscan Medici family, purchased the property in 1576, he began numerous projects to improve his new villa. Although his selection of improvements were clearly meant to reproduce the format of other sixteenth century Roman suburban villas, many of the features were unusual. Because of this, the Villa Medici will always prove a complex and challenging subject for study in relation to its decorative, architectural and landscape development.

The development of Roman villa design and the patronage of classical antiquities often followed parallel courses during the sixteenth century. Although the design of a villa related to comfort and quality of life, while classical antiquities were a source of historical interest and study, both drew their inspiration from the classical world. As the idea of *villeggiatura* as a rural retreat developed to become a part of urban life, interest in the study of the classical world through texts, architecture and sculpture cemented the relationship between antiquities and villas in Rome.[2] Both concepts were thus important component parts for defining the nature and character of a Roman suburban villa.

The development of villa residences in conjunction with the extensive patronage of classical antiquities was a distinctly Roman phenomenon in the sixteenth century. By the middle of the sixteenth century there were numerous such sites in existence within the walls of Rome, including the villas of the Bufalo, Carpi, Cesi, d'Este, Farnese and Grimani families. All of these properties derived their main inspiration from the design and decorative ideas embodied in the statue

[2]Ibid., vii and 16-22.

court of the Vatican Belvedere of Pope Julius II. It is not surprising then, that all of these villas were designed as retreats from the city for Italian Cardinals.

By the time that Ferdinando de' Medici formally took up his role as a Cardinal in Rome in 1569, however, the evolution of the relationship between antique sculpture and the design and decoration of Roman urban villas had already begun to change. By this date the patronage of classical antiquities was no longer an exclusively Roman pastime. Numerous collectors like Federico and Guglielmo Gonzaga in Mantua or Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria had established themselves as comparable connoisseurs. By the time Ferdinando had arrived in Rome, the traditional development of the Roman suburban villa was thus being influenced by the patronage and display of antiquities of collectors resident far outside Rome.

Ferdinando de' Medici, as an Italian cardinal, was both the political representative in Rome of his Florentine family and a political figure in the Vatican in his own right. The issues of antiquities patronage, and the design and decoration of his villa were extremely significant to him. Ferdinando used the artistic features of his villa to make associations between himself and his family, and between the Medici and ancient Rome. Only through his acts of art, architectural, design and antiquities patronage could Ferdinando de' Medici ensure that he was perceived as an important member of the cardinalate and ensure that his ambitions in Rome might be realised.

The aim of my thesis is thus to address the issues of Ferdinando de' Medici's political ambitions as they were reflected in the design of his Roman villa and his patronage of classical antique sculpture. The personal position, ambition and motivation of Ferdinando de' Medici can help us understand the complexity of the design and decoration of the Villa Medici. Only through this combination of

elements can the real extent of the significance of his projects at the Villa Medici be understood both in terms of their meaning as well as in terms of their place in history.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century much has been written about the Villa Medici in Rome and the antiquities collection which Ferdinando displayed there. Rodolfo Lanciani in the third volume of his *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, published between 1902 and 1912, awards the collection an entire chapter, presenting a general written catalogue and analysis of surviving related Medici documents and extracts from historical publications. However, Lanciani's interest in the Villa Medici in Rome related more to the historical context of individual antiquities. His analysis of the development of such collections in Rome over time and in relation to the excavation and re-discovery of antiquities from the middle ages and through the renaissance, provided extremely important information which helped to define the relative significance of the Villa Medici antiquities collection within a broader historical context.

Following on from Lanciani, Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny's *Taste and the Antique*, through its study of the antiquities patronage phenomenon, does much to define the subject within both a chronological and organisational progression. Although the significance of the Villa Medici was highlighted within the work, the approach of this broad historical study was too general to analyse its perplexing details. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinsteins's exhaustive *Census of Antique Works of Art Known to Renaissance Artists* developed the important understanding that renaissance collectors gave special significance to particular, high quality pieces of ancient sculpture, but this element could only form a small part of the study of Ferdinando's collection and his villa.

Glenn M. Andres acknowledged that the antiquities collection of the Villa Medici was not a separate issue to the details of the overall site design and decoration. Within his study, Andres examined the significance of the display context in relation to Ferdinando's antiquities collection, and thus provided an important foundation for further study. Andres' research and conclusions in this area were necessarily limited, but this approach was essential for any further study of the villa and the antiquities collection it displayed.

Unfortunately this unified approach to the development and ultimate transformation of the villa by Ferdinando de' Medici was not utilised by the contributors to the five volume monograph undertaken by the French Academy in Rome. The studies which examine the design and iconography of the garden, Ferdinando's role as a patron of the arts and as an Italian cardinal, and the analysis of the formation, content and configuration of the antiquities collection, are important works.[3] However, although these contributions significantly expand on Andres' research, due to the sub-division of topics, they cannot bring the necessary analysis to these issues as a whole.

The wide selection of previous studies concerning the Villa Medici in Rome, antiquities patronage as a collecting phenomenon, and the significance of antiquities to the artistic community of Rome, have provided the foundations for my research. However, it can be argued that previous studies of the Villa Medici in Rome, in relation to the projects of Ferdinando de' Medici, have lacked an appreciation that study of the person, the design, decoration and antiquities collection all must be addressed together. Only then can the complex character of Ferdinando de' Medici's precise relationship to this villa, to his family and to the church even hope to be understood in the most comprehensive manner. Only

[3]Suzanne B. Butters, "Le cardinal Ferdinand de Médicis," "Ferdinand et le jardin du Pincio," and Carlo Gaspari, "La collection d'antiques du Cardinal Ferdinand," in ed. André Chastel, *La Villa Médicis*, vol. 2, (Rome: 1991).

by reaching conclusions in this context can the true significance of the Villa Medici in Rome, as a Roman suburban villa be understood. Each segment is important, but it is what they reveal when viewed together that has proved the most rewarding for my academic research.

There will always be difficulties in developing a clear and coherent picture of the Villa Medici in Rome. The surviving documentary evidence concerning Ferdinando's ownership of the villa is limited and incomplete, making it difficult to build a full and comprehensive account of its development, and Ferdinando's motivations. However, documents such as the mythological genealogies of Vincenzo Cartari, Natale Conti and Lilio Gergorio Giraldi, the historical studies of Ulisse Aldrovrandi, Pirro Ligorio, Fulvio Orsini, Stephanus Vinandus Pighius and Achilles Statius can be useful in building various 'snapshots' of the development of the villa.[4] The 1598 inventory published by Ferdinand Boyer in 1929 is also critical for examining the completion of Ferdinando's projects at the Villa Medici.[5] In addition to this there is also an abundance of visual material in relation to the site. The frescoes made by Jacopo Zucchi in 1576 as part of the decoration the walls of Ferdinando's *scrittoio* (figs. 1 and 2) the 1602 engraving of the garden made by Domenico Buti (fig. 3), the 1594 publication of Giovanni Battista Cavalieri and the 1638 publication of François Perrier all form a vital

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[4]Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagine colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi*, (Venice: 1556). Natale Conti, *Mythologiae sive explications fabularum libri X*, (Venice: 1551). Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia in qua simul de eorum imaginibus et cognominibus agitur*, (Basel: 1548). Ulisse Aldrovrandi, *Delle statue antiche cher per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono*, in Lucio Mauro, *L' Antichità che per tutta Roma*, (Venice: 1556). Pirro Ligorio, *Antique urbis imago*, (Rome: 1561); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Codex Bodleianus, Ms. Ital. 138; Paris, Bibliothèque National, Ms. 839, Ital. 1129; Turin, Archivio di Stato, *Antichità Romane*, Ms. 23. Fulvio Orsini, *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditor ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum annotationibus*, (Rome: 1570). Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *Themis Dea*, (Antwerp: 1568); *Herculis prodicius, sev principis inventatis vita et peregrinato*, (Antwerp: 1587). Achilles Statius, *Inlustrium virorum ut existant in urbe expressi vultus*, (Rome: 1569).

[5]Ferdinand Boyer, "Un inventoire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598), *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33 (1929), 256-270.

foundation for the study of the details of Ferdinando's transformation of the Villa Medici.[6]

In researching Ferdinando de' Medici's development of the Villa Medici in Rome there are many useful resources. The State Archives of Rome hold important official documents about Ferdinando's acquisition of the property and objects gifted to Cardinal Ricci for use at the villa.[7] The inventories, financial records and correspondence which relate directly to both Ferdinando's design and decoration of the villa as well as to his patronage of classical antiquities, held at the State Archives in Florence are also extremely important resources.[8] Although the material held at the Vatican Library is less specifically related to Ferdinando, the documents instead relate either directly or indirectly to the objects in his antiquities collection.[9]

The Villa Medici and its owner, Ferdinando de' Medici, have both been the subject of scholarly study and debate since the sixteenth century. However, this study breaks new ground through its approach and interpretation of the subject. Rather than view the Villa Medici as a complete entity, or examine Ferdinando's antiquities collection as a series of transactions, this thesis highlights and examines four specific design and decorative phenomena present at the Villa Medici and at Ferdinando as a patron and in relation to similar design and decorative interests. Through a detailed examination of these hitherto obscure aspects of the Villa Medici, this study aims to bring fresh insight into the process of development and the significance of the property.

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[6]Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, (Rome, 1594). François Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*. (Rome and Paris: 1638).

[7]Rome, Archivio di Stato, Colegiodei Notari Capitolini Atti Campani, prot. 434 and Congregatio Super Viis Pontibus et Pontibus, vol. 1.

[8]Florence, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea Medicea 315; Miscellanea Medicea 363, 2; Guardaroba Medicea 97; Medicea Universale 3882.

[9]Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Ursinianus, Ms. Vat. Lat. 3439 and Ms. Urb. Lat. 1055.

This thesis centres on four of the most significant design and decorative phenomena that occurred during Ferdinando's development of the Villa Medici in Rome. These four main areas, which include the Statue Gallery, the collection of Herms, the Medici Obelisk and the Niobe Group, have never been studied in such detail before. Although they were important design and decorative phenomena undertaken by Ferdinando de' Medici, they have all lacked attention in previous studies. Yet these phenomena can tell us much about Ferdinando's motivations for his design and decorative transformation of the Villa Medici.

The arrangement of these four selected subject areas is, essentially, chronological. In this way, they mark the progress of Ferdinando's development of the Villa Medici from the earliest written and visual proposals of 1576 to the last project completed before the inventory of 1598. As a result, each chapter works both in isolation and as an essential part of the entire study. There are many other design and decorative phenomena at the Villa Medici in Rome which could have been examined, like the decoration of the garden façade of the villa casino or isolated displays of figures such as the Ariadne (believed in the sixteenth century to represent Cleopatra). However, these aspects of the villa have already received considerable attention, and their specific meaning and purpose is clear, and so do not warrent further attention.

In addition to the study of the four design and decorative phenomena which make up the main body of this thesis, it is also extremely important to consider the details of Ferdinando's life. This aspect is essential in not only providing an introduction to studies of the design and decorative programme undertaken by Ferdinando de' Medici for his Roman villa, but also for defining the personality of the man who created them. In addressing the details of Ferdinando's role as a

cardinal in Rome, his position within the ruling Florentine Medici family, the potential significance of the four main design and decorative phenomena can be revealed. Understanding that Ferdinando was not only a Medici, but also a Florentine with definite expectations of advancement within the Church is essential.

The nature and purpose of the statue gallery built by Ferdinando has long been overlooked. By understanding why it was included as part of the improvements to the Villa Medici by Ferdinando, we can determine its significance within this architectural and decorative context. Only by including studies of the development of its physical, structural and decorative character, and the details of the antiquities it was intended to and actually did display, could its context within the history of collective antiquities display in a purpose built exhibition environment be understood in its entirety.

The approach towards Ferdinando's collection of garden herms is slightly different. Although it was also a decorative phenomena that had evolved over time before it was implemented at the Villa Medici and something which was considered as part of the earliest proposals for Ferdinando's alterations to this site, it is a subject area which had never been examined in detail before. In studying the Villa Medici garden herms it is extremely important to first identify and classify both the precise subject and character of the objects themselves as well as determine their purpose and meaning in general and specifically within the context of the design and decoration of the Villa Medici.

The Villa Medici Obelisk, however, though requiring a similar process of historical identification, was also designed to relate to a more fundamental part of the decorative iconographic programme employed within the garden of the villa. As an important visual link between the interior environment of the villa

casino and the external environment of the villa garden, the obelisk had several roles. The obelisk and its discovery are identified within the descriptions and or images of Antionio Fulvio, Lucio Fauno, Lucio Mauro, Marcantonio Mercati, Flaminio Nardini, Pirro Ligorio, Antionio Lafreri and Étienne Dupérac. In addition to this the significance of obelisks throughout the sixteenth century is explored. Only once these facts were established could the details of its acquisition by Ferdinando and its significance to him also be clarified. However, once this is established the analysis of its significance within the garden and its relationship to the design of the landscape and casino, can increase our understanding of the sculptures employed as part of its more immediate surroundings and finally determine the meaning of the related garden iconography.

The Niobe group, as the final segment of this study, was the last major decorative project to be undertaken by Ferdinando at the villa, but was also a project that underwent most of its major development after he had left Rome and returned to Florence to take up his role as the Tuscan Grand Duke. In this regard the project is very different to all of the others at the site and its completion effectively concluded Ferdinando's transformation of the Villa Medici. The examination of the Niobe group reveals that Ferdinando continued to set objectives for the decoration of the villa well after he left Rome, and also establishes insights into the treatment of antiquities from the time of discovery and purchase by Ferdinando to the moment they were formally exhibited at the Villa Medici.

CHAPTER I

Ferdinando de' Medici as a Patron of Classical Antiquities

Ferdinando de' Medici's position in Rome as a cardinal was directly linked to the status of the ruling Florentine Medici family through his father, Duke of Florence and later Grand Duke of Tuscany. The history of the Florentine Medici family as a whole, however, provides an essential context within which the details of Ferdinando's life are best understood. Having to justify his own position in Florence as well as in Rome, Ferdinando de' Medici, did not merely choose to reflect the achievements of particular Medici contemporaries and ancestors by adopting a selection of symbols and images, but also, more significantly, chose to mark his Medici relationships within the specific context of a contemporary Roman decorative ideology; the patronage of classical antiquities.

Ferdinando de' Medici's position within the late-sixteenth century political society of Rome and Florence, can be primarily defined by two separate relationships. One, already mentioned, related to his immediate family as the formally acknowledged political rulers of Tuscany, and the other related to the Florentine Medici of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, responsible for developing the earlier role of the Medici family as the unofficial heads-of-state for Florence. Within these relationships however, two individuals were of supreme importance to Ferdinando. The first was, of course, his father, Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence and later Grand Duke of Tuscany and the other was Giovanni de' Medici, elected in 1513 as Pope Leo X.

In relation to his father, however, a third important Medici, Cosimo de' Medici (il Vecchio) also emerges in the background for Ferdinando, having provided both a hereditary and symbolic foundation for the later Cosimo's right to assume the ducal throne. The earlier Cosimo, being ultimately responsible for defining

the height of the Medici family's social and political status in Florence in the fifteenth century was extremely important in relation to Ferdinando's father as an ideal example of both modest and influential leadership. Aside from being successful in maintaining a strong political influence for the Medici family over the Florentine Republic through his extensive patronage of artists and scholars, the earlier Cosimo also successfully ensured that his personal political ambitions outside of Florence were also of practical benefit to the city and the security of its population.[1] Cosimo (il Vecchio), in Ferdinando's father's eyes, was successful because he had been able to build a broad base of localised support while also maintaining a balance between localised patronage and wider political alliances. Ferdinando's father, in defining his own position as the Florentine Duke early in his career, clearly understood that this was what defined his ancestral namesake as a ruler and not merely as an ambitious politician, an important distinction for the newly established formal hereditary leadership role held by the Medici from the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Unlike many of the Medici politicians and leaders who ruled over Florence as part of the *Signoria* or as *Gonfaloniere* from the fourteenth century, Ferdinando's father was not a businessman or banker who maintained a leadership role to ensure continued prosperity. Instead, the later Cosimo considered himself part of the Florentine nobility. This status, though tenuous in the context of the history of the Medici family and their rise to power, was nonetheless a distinction that Cosimo (il Vecchio) had helped to define. Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici, the father of Cosimo (il Vecchio), had maintained a low political profile in the elected government of the Florentine republic, where one's actions were accountable, and had concentrated instead on building the Medici bank and his wider political alliances. His son continued this strategy and his conscientious

[1]See Alison M. Brown, "The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961), 186-221.

patronage and piety in Florence helped secure a favourable reputation for him within the city, while his careful cultivation of friendships and alliances outside of Florence made him indispensable for protecting both the Florentine population and its elected government. Cosimo's considerable political talents eventually led to his posthumous title of 'pater patriae.'

Ferdinando's father's active cultivation of an association between himself and his Medici predecessor, Cosimo (il Vecchio), through a careful selection of personal symbolism, was essential propaganda in legitimising his position. The early consideration for his own political security was paramount and he clearly understood the importance of making himself indispensable both outside and within Florence.[2] The later Cosimo came from a more distant branch of the Medici family, and thus needed to strengthen his ties to the earlier Medici in order to justify his right to claim the throne of the Medici Florentine Dukes, beyond the fact that Leo X's choice of name for him at his baptism linked him with the earlier Cosimo.[3] In consolidating his hold on power, Ferdinando's father thus exploited past Medici political and social tactics which had been decisive in the rise of the Medici's familial status from merchant bankers to established nobility.

As the earlier Cosimo embodied all the most significant aspects of the initial Medici transformation from personal prosperity to ruling nobility he was an ideal role model. The fact that the earlier Cosimo could identify with many sectors of the Florentine population while also cultivating alliances between himself and other hereditary rulers outside Florence or within the church in Rome clearly marked out for Ferdinando's father what had to be achieved in order to ensure the

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[2]For a detailed analysis of all Cosimo's imagery see Paul William Richelson, *Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence*, (New York and London: 1978) and Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X and the two Cosimos*, (Princeton: 1984).

[3]Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny*, 232.

longevity of his position as Duke of Florence while creating the potential for his eventual elevation in status as Grand Duke of Tuscany.[4]

The later Cosimo's claim to the succession of Florentine rule came through the fact that his mother was the great granddaughter of Lorenzo, the son of the earlier Cosimo, and was certainly more tenuous than if he had been the son or brother of his political predecessor, Duke Alessandro de' Medici. However, if Ferdinando's father wanted to enhance the public and political acceptance of his succession to the throne of Florence, his own ambitions and achievements had to be complemented with a direct familial connection to particularly respected individuals within his ancestral Medici lineage, and thus to Cosimo (il Vecchio).[5]

Ferdinando de' Medici's role as a Cardinal grew directly out of his father's understanding of his family's past and Cosimo's resulting personal strategy for securing both his immediate political position early in his career as well as for his ambitions over Tuscany. For the later Cosimo, his initial insecure position in Florence and the fact that other possible Medici heirs were nearly extinct meant that, as occurred under Pope Leo X with his imposition of a Medici Duke of Urbino, the Medici family could no longer be assigned to rule separate independent states as entities in themselves in order to expand their control.[6] Instead, Cosimo aimed to concentrate power in himself through his sole rule over Tuscany as a single territory comprised of many independent states. Cosimo's objectives were clear, but the origin of his ideas came from his personal consideration of the difficulties and experience of his Medici ancestors. Their struggle to secure control over Florence had been achieved and the Medici

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[4]Ibid.

[5]For Cosimo and his social and military achievements see: Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo I de' Medici e la indipendenza del Principato Mediceo*, (Florence: 1905).

[6]H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth Century Florence, 1502-1529*, (Oxford: 1985) 276-278.

family had successfully evolved from being bankers to princes in a position of acknowledged nobility, even if their position had never remained stable and secure over an extended period of time.

The later Cosimo's difficulties in establishing his own identity as ruler over Florence and Tuscany in his own right, however, related to ensuring Medici independence from the Holy Roman Emperor, initially an extremely influential ally who supported his rise to the Tuscan throne. In his claim to control other Tuscan cities, such as Siena, Ferdinando's father aimed to achieve acknowledgement from the Pope of his right to hold the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Papal see had often acted as an important check against rival families and interests throughout Medici history. Now Cosimo hoped to utilise Papal support to counterbalance the influence of the Holy Roman Emperor. For Ferdinando these political manoeuvres were extremely significant as he had arrived in Rome to take up his position as a Cardinal at the very same time as his father was finally granted the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V in 1569. Ferdinando could not fail to be aware of the significance of his role in his father's overall strategy and the importance of developing Medici interests in Rome and the Papal see.

As already mentioned, one of the primary ways in which Ferdinando de' Medici defined important historical and contemporary familial connections and turning points was through the selection, design and arrangement of his vast collection of classical antique sculpture.[7] As primarily a Roman based form of patronage, through its undertaking Ferdinando de' Medici could thus effectively relate himself to the social and political climate of Rome which he had to operate in as a cardinal on a day to day basis. The manner in which he collected, and the way

[7]For a detailed breakdown of this see especially chapter IV and the display arrangement of the Villa Medici obelisk.

he exhibited his antiquities, however, also presented the most direct means through which he could best state both his personal political ambition and that of his ruling Florentine family. In this regard, Ferdinando de' Medici, through his large-scale patronage of classical antiquities not only complemented his accomplishments as a cardinal, but also further defined his personal political ambitions of rising to the papal throne and of securing the political future of his family as the formally acknowledged rulers over Tuscany.

The outline of Ferdinando de' Medici's early life published by his secretary and biographer Piero Usimbardi clearly implies that, as the fifth son of Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence and Eleonora of Toledo, Ferdinando initially had little prospect of an important political career within his immediate family.[8] Though it was supposedly foretold at the time of his birth, believed to have been sometime in late July 1549, that Ferdinando would eventually inherit the Tuscan throne, it was only in November 1562 that his prospects changed when his elder brothers Cardinal Giovanni and don Garzia de' Medici both died of malarial fever.[9] Only then did Ferdinando become destined for the cardinalate and directly follow Francesco, Cosimo's heir, in the chronological rank of surviving male Medici siblings.

Usimbardi's text, though an excellent resource for information about Ferdinando's early life, does, however, represent a selective account of his initial induction into the cardinalate. Officially installed as a cardinal on the 6th of January 1563, Usimbardi writes about the state of Ferdinando's health as he recovered from the same fever which had taken the lives of his brothers, and explains that this is why he received his cardinal's hat in Florence, by messenger

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[8]Piero Usimbardi, *Istoria del Gran Ducal Ferdinando I de' Medici*, ed. Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, (Florence: 1880) 9.
[9]Ibid., 10. Giovanni de' Medici was made a cardinal on 31st January 1560, for details of this see Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 15, trans. R.F. Kerr, (London: 1950) 98.

from Rome.[10] But the fact that Ferdinando was being made a cardinal at the age of thirteen by Pope Pius IV, was extremely controversial. In an era when the Vatican was under tremendous pressure to reform in the aftershocks of the Reformation, the appointment of such a young cardinal as a personal favour to Duke Cosimo de' Medici had, understandably, attracted the attention of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, even though the appointment had clearly been arranged to replace Giovanni and console Cosimo.[11]

The formal and ceremonial induction of Ferdinando into the Cardinalate and the formal presentation of his titular church of S. Maria Domnica in Rome, was held on the 15th of May 1565, more than two years after he first received his cardinal's hat in Florence.[12] This event formally marked the beginning of Ferdinando's own personal relationship with the overriding political hierarchy of Rome, and, through the work undertaken to restore and embellish the church of S. Maria Domnica, laid the foundations for Ferdinando's future position as a Roman art, architectural and antiquities patron.

Ferdinando de' Medici's career as a cardinal defined him as a Roman and not as a Florentine patron. And, although his familial ties to Tuscany were often addressed in the iconography of the design and decoration employed for both his public and private artistic commissions, he had primarily to ensure that his

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[10]Ibid., 10.

[11]In a letter to the Pope written shortly after Ferdinando was made a Cardinal, the holy Roman Emperor recommended that Pius IV only award a cardinal's hat to someone able to fulfil this role immediately. For this letter see Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 312. This important issue, glossed over by Usimbardi, does help define Ferdinando's biography as more of a eulogy directed at a different generation to that corresponding with the event. Nonetheless, in understanding this, Usimbardi's text is highlighted more for its useful insight into the psychological conditions which Ferdinando faced when he formally assumed his role in Rome as a member of the cardinalate. For this see Usimbardi, 10.

[12]Usimbardi records that Ferdinando went to Rome to receive his hat from the Pope in 1564 and Glenn M. Andres in *The Villa Medici in Rome*, (New York: 1976): 207, clearly uses Usimbardi to determine the date. For the date of 15th May 1565 see Suzanne B. Butters, "Le cardinal Ferdinando de Médicis," in *La Villa Médicis*, vol. 2, ed. Andrè Chastel, (Rome: 1990) 176, n. 40. Many of the letters which are referenced here will be published by her at a later date as part of vol. 5 of the same series.

design and decorative undertakings specifically related to established Roman ideals.[13] Under these conditions, it was important for Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici to become an avid patron of classical antiquities. This was not only a primary means by which he could be compared to other wealthy Romans both within and without the Vatican, but was also an extremely effective way for him to present and honour Medici lineage and achievements in Rome.

By the second half of the sixteenth century the patronage of classical antiques, and especially sculpture, had developed around several fundamental principles of collecting. Having evolved from the academic passions of an individual collector, by Ferdinando's time the patronage of classical antique sculpture was seen as a means for personal symbolic expression with the quantity and quality of sculpture equally as important as the development of its overall display environment.[14]

The patronage of classical antiquities had stemmed, at least partially, from the idea of generating an association with the ancient past through the adoption and adaptation of imperial Roman architectural forms and decorative motifs, but had evolved during the sixteenth century to become, primarily, a means of personal showmanship. This specific form of patronage, however, was not only ideally suited as a means by which familial wealth and power could be symbolised, but was also an effective way of suggesting direct links between an individual's family and the legacy of Rome's imperial past. Ferdinando, as a Roman Cardinal, was keen to develop this form of patronage to help establish his position among the most wealthy and powerful cardinals in Rome, but also, as a member of a newly established branch of the Medici family, saw the potential of

[13]For a particular example of this which relates to Zucchi's painting, the 'Fishing of the Coral' see Suzanne Butters, 170-171.
[14]See David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome*, (Princeton: 1991) 17-27.

using this media to link the Medici family itself to the nobility of ancient imperial Rome.[15]

The collections and displays of Cardinals Paolo Emilio Cesi, Ridolfo Pio da Carpi, Ippolito d'Este, Alessandro Farnese, and of Pope Julius III, were certainly the benchmark for a late-sixteenth century patron of classical antique sculpture in Rome.[16] However, with the addition of extensive antiquities patronage by people outside of the church and outside of Rome, there were other aspects for Ferdinando to consider when he himself began collecting.[17] As an antiquities patron of the late sixteenth century, Ferdinando de' Medici had the opportunity to acquire works through individual purchase and excavation, but, more significantly, could also purchase entire pre-existing collections. In this way his antiquities patronage was very different to that of his immediate predecessors and as a result his collection had a greater range of decorative possibilities which could be determined around a selection of objects to which all the subjects were already understood.

The restoration of the Church of S. Maria Domnica, as the first act of patronage associated with Ferdinando de' Medici in Rome, was not necessarily directly linked to his later patronage of classical antique sculpture. However, the projects undertaken there provided an important foundation which defined the purpose and objectives for his later career. The choice of S. Maria Domnica as Ferdinando's titular church was not a coincidence. This church had been initially

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[15]For this specific relationship see especially Chapter V.

[16]See David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening*, 17-27 and Christian Hülsen, "Römische Antikengärten des XVI Jahrhunderts," *Abhandlungen der Heilderberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 4, (1917), for more general analysis of these properties and the collections which they displayed.

[17]For this see Clifford M. Brown with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, *Our Accustomed Discourse on the Antique: Cesare Gonzaga and Girolamo Garimberto: Two Renaissance Collectors of Greco-Roman Art*, (New York: 1993); and Clifford M. Brown with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, "Girolamo Garimberto Archaeological Advisor to Guglielmo Gonzaga Duke of Mantua (1570-1574)," *Arte Lombarda*, 83 (1987) 56, n. 6 for a list of collectors, including those outside Rome, with antique sculpture galleries in the late sixteenth century.

selected for his late brother, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, and its association with the earlier Cardinal Giovanni, later Pope Leo X, had already been established by Ferdinando's father as an ideal symbolic link between the old and new branches of the Florentine Medici family based in Rome.[18]

With the earlier Giovanni de' Medici's rise to the papal throne as Pope Leo X, the same political ambition was clearly marked out for both Giovanni and then Ferdinando through the choice of S. Maria Domnica as their first Roman titular church. The title 'Domnica' or 'Dominica' from 'Dominare,' meaning to control, to dominate or to rule, also provides another subtle suggestion as to the precise nature of their individual and familial aspirations. For Ferdinando de' Medici, however, his personal association to the church of S. Maria Domnica was inevitably different to that of his brother. The selection of this church was a reminder that he was an extremely important representative for his Florentine family, but also that he was a secondary choice within his family hierarchy. In this way he had to understand the psychological context of the entire Medici family history but also, more significantly, his father's motivations as well.[19]

Though Piero Usimbardi mentions the church of S. Maria Domnica in his biography of Ferdinando, he does not provide any further description other than merely associating its familiar name, the Navicella, to details of the life of the Virgin.[20] In terms of the restoration of this church, however, this idea itself plays a secondary role, with the objective of establishing a clear association between the young cardinal Ferdinando and Pope Leo X being primary in its importance. The fact that Ferdinando was born under the sign of Leo could also be used to

[18]Suzanne Butters, 175-176.
[19]Ibid., 175.
[20]Usimbardi, 24.

create a symbolic association between himself and Leo X, and details such as this were actively exploited through the restoration of this church.[21]

At S. Maria Domnica the three most important projects undertaken in association with Ferdinando de' Medici were the restoration of the ceiling in the nave of the church, the replacement of the stained glass windows and the dedicatory inscription made by Ferdinando to honour Pope Leo X.[22] It is not necessarily the individual nature of these projects which is important, but instead the fact that they were all consciously designed to work together to create an effective symbolic association between the old and new branches of the Medici family. Images such as Ferdinando's coat of arms, employed as a decorative tool on the new stained glass windows as part of the restoration of this church are a direct complement to the arms of Leo X which appear in the decoration of the nave ceiling.[23] The dedicatory inscription, which publicly honours Leo X, was of primary importance in defining S. Maria Domnica both as a memorial and as an active seat of power in Rome for the Medici family.[24]

For Ferdinando de' Medici, any form of artistic patronage had the potential to symbolise his achievements and aspirations, but the patronage of classical antique sculpture was different by its very nature. As an existing art form created for an historically removed social and political context, its use as a decorative tool in the sixteenth century always had to accommodate and acknowledge this factor in some way. Nonetheless, the organisation of classical antiquities as a decorative tool could take many forms and be accommodated in several types of exhibition environments. However, for Ferdinando, as a cardinal

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[21]Suzanne Butters, 175-176.
[22]Ibid., 175.
[23]Ibid., 177.
[24]Ibid., 175, n. 42, "Ferdina[ndus] Medicis Card[inalis] templi ornament[o] memoriaque Leonis X renovandae f[ecit] Piiv. anno 1."

in Rome, the only generally suitable environment for the display of his antiquities collection was within the confines of a Roman suburban villa.[25]

From the outset, Ferdinando de' Medici's patronage of classical antique sculpture was able to meet the highest standards of quality. The earliest phase of his collecting, however, was, like the church of S. Maria Domnica, invariably tied to the name of his late brother, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. Giovanni's informal receipt of the Vigna Poggio, originally part of Pope Julius III's Villa Giulia, from Pope Pius IV in 1560 meant that the foundations were already in place for Ferdinando to undertake antiquities patronage even before he formally arrived in Rome to take up his role as Cardinal in 1569.[26]

Incorporated into the fabric of the Villa Giulia, the Vigna Poggio formed part of one of the foremost Roman suburban villas of the mid-sixteenth century.[27] The vigna, built in the 1540s by the Papal treasurer, Giovanni Poggio, was located just to the north of the Porta del Popolo and thus just outside Rome's ancient Aurelian walls.[28] With the Villa Madama, the Vigna Poggio may have been part of the catalyst for Julius III's construction of the Villa Giulia, a project which transformed the nearby vigna which he had inherited earlier in the sixteenth century.[29] The Vigna Poggio was purchased by Julius III in 1551 as part of his plan for expanding his own property. However, with the quality of the site and its residence, the Vigna Poggio itself was both preserved as a suitable temporary accommodation for Julius III throughout the construction of his villa, and remained an affiliated, yet independent residential structure.[30]

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[25]David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, (Princeton: 1979): 63-109 for an extensive discussion on the development and design of the Roman suburban villa.
[26]Ibid., 171, n. 57.
[27]Ibid., 171.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid., 152.
[30]Ibid.

Formally gifted to Cosimo de' Medici in 1562 with the Palazzo di Firenze, the Vigna Poggio not only marked the foundation of Ferdinando de' Medici's patronage of classical antiquities in Rome, but also marked the beginning of his personal understanding of the importance of both actively collecting this type of sculpture and establishing for himself an appropriate type of environment within which it could best be displayed.[31] Like S. Maria Domnica, however, his initial access and connection to established residences associated with preceding generations of Popes and Cardinals not only tied him to their legacies, but also to the influence of his father, under whom possession of these sites had usually been gained. As a result, in this regard Ferdinando de' Medici, in 1569, had yet to formally shape his creative presence within and around the walls of Rome.

For Ferdinando de' Medici, the purchase of his Pincian Hill villa was essential. Not only did it provide an ideal forum for the exhibition of his growing collection of classical antique sculpture, but it also gave Ferdinando an opportunity to acquire and establish his own presence in Rome without being tied to either his father or to his late brother unless he chose to do so. The commanding position of the Pincian Hill villa with its views over the centre of the city of Rome toward the dome of St. Peter's and the Vatican, not only reinforced Ferdinando's own personal ties to these places, but also suggested that this was where his own political ambitions were ultimately directed.

In defining his presence within the walls of Rome, the Villa Medici played an extremely important role. The purpose of this site, as a residence, a retreat, a forum for entertaining and as a publicly accessible venue, was not only diverse, but also extremely significant.[32] From its position on the eastern slope of the

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[31]Ibid.

[32]For the issue of public accessibility to Roman suburban villas see: David R. Coffin, "The '*Lex Hortorum*' and Access to Gardens of Latium During the Renaissance," *Journal of Garden History*, 2 (1982), 201-232.

Pincian Hill, the Villa Medici could easily be viewed from within the confines of the city of Rome, and with the number and type of people able to access its interior, the general presentation of the villa casino and the villa garden were a consideration of foremost importance. Only through careful planning would the design and decoration of Ferdinando's villa be effective and provide a forum to articulate his social and political position from outside the formal confines of the Vatican.

Given the decorative nature of other existing Roman suburban villas created earlier in the sixteenth century, Ferdinando de' Medici clearly had the display of antiquities in mind when he decided to acquire his own villa.[33] The idea of acquiring such a residence within the environs of Rome, however, was not necessarily new to Ferdinando's mind. In 1565, when Ferdinando first arrived in Rome for the presentation of his cardinal's hat and titular church he seems to have then set his sights on acquiring the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, already established as a hunting lodge and park.[34] This initial desire, even at fifteen years of age, suggested that very early in his career Ferdinando de' Medici was aware of the significance a villa could possess within the social and political infrastructure of Rome.

By 1576, however, Ferdinando de' Medici was clearly aware of the individual significance held by different types of residential properties in and around Rome.[35] This is suggested by his personal connections to the hunting lodge of La Magliana, to the central Roman Palazzo Firenze, and to the Vigna Poggio. His

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[33]Even from the earliest painted decorative proposals for the Villa Medici made by Jacopo Zucchi as part of the decoration of Ferdinando's *scrittoio*, antiquities and purpose-built accommodations for the display of antiques are apparent in these images. See chapter II, 2 and chapter III, 1.

[34]Suzanne Butters, 173. For the Villa Lante as a hunting lodge and park see Coffin, *The Villa in the Life*, 132.

[35]A complete analysis of property type between villa, vigna and hunting lodge, as it developed and as it existed in the late sixteenth century is presented by Coffin, in *The Villa in the Life*, 9-16 and 111.

decision to purchase a Roman suburban villa can be seen as a means of completing his portfolio of residences. As an effective means of diversifying the selection of properties tied to his name, Ferdinando de' Medici's decision to purchase the Ricci Villa on the Pincian Hill was in itself significant. In addition, the fact that this site was essentially his own purchase and not a loan or a gift through his father or through the favour of a Pope or Cardinal, also meant that his relationship to this property was different to that of any other site associated with him in Rome.

The geographical location of the Villa Medici in Rome is also significant. Situated within the walls of the city, it formed part of the formal fabric of Rome.[36]

Built onto the eastern slope of the Pincian hill and facing the centre of the city, its location was particularly strategic.[37] The purchase of the Pincian Hill villa allowed Ferdinando to lay claim to an expanse of property and this was important not only for Ferdinando, but also for the Medici family in general. By providing a powerfully suggestive presence in Rome in the form of ownership of extensive property, the Pincian Hill Villa also ensured that the Medici name was destined to appear on all maps of Rome.

The reasons why Ferdinando de' Medici began collecting antiquities is also an important consideration. As a feature of his interests which seemed to begin only when he moved to Rome as a Cardinal, it is curious how this personal motivation seemed to establish itself almost immediately upon his arrival. Though his exposure to antiquities in Florence was inevitable through both the collections of the earlier Medici and of his father, it would certainly have had its

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[36]The villa was located in the north of the city, adjacent to the eastern perimeter of Rome's ancient Aurelian wall.

[37]High on the hill and directed to face toward the centre of the city, the Villa Medici casino was an easily identifiable landmark toward the north-east periphery of Rome.

limitations in comparison to Rome.[38] However, the fact that his personal interest in antiquities seems to have already taken root by the time he arrived in Rome in 1569 does hint that its cultivation was encouraged, at least initially, by someone other than himself.

By the second half of the sixteenth century it was well understood that the most wealthy and powerful residents of Rome during the early and middle sixteenth century, had established large antiquities collections. The manuscript of Pirro Ligorio was only one of a plethora of documentary resources that went beyond merely studying the objects themselves and actually named the individual patrons in possession of the works being studied.[39] The most significant occurrence, however, in this regard, was Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma*, published in 1556 as part of Lucio Mauro's *Le Antichità*.[40] This publication, although still a catalogue of antiquities, was primarily designed to name and rank collections by patron first and then by content. Even though Aldrovrandi still identified works of importance in his text, this information was now clearly secondary to the name of the patron.

Without question Aldrovrandi's text also went further than previous studies. Not only was it responsible for marking out the Vatican collection as being the most important in Rome, by placing it at the head of the study, but Aldrovrandi also made it clear that the collections of Rome's most important cardinals followed the Vatican in close succession in terms of their overall size and quality. As a result of this, Ferdinando de' Medici, and even his late brother Giovanni, would have understood that antiquities patronage had to be placed at the forefront of

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[38]For the collection in Florence see Mansuelli, *La collezione degli Uffizi: Le sculture*, 2 vols., (Rome: 1961).

[39]Excellent examples of this occur in Pirro Ligorio's manuscript on Herms in *Della antichità di Roma*, Turin, Archivio di Stato (Henceforth AST), Ms XXIII.

[40]Ulisse Aldrovrandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono*, in Lucio Mauro, *L'Antichità della Città di Roma*, (Venice: 1556).

their artistic undertakings in Rome, but also that in order for their patronage to compete with the other important collections already established in this city it had to begin immediately upon their arrival in Rome.

With the information provided in early and mid-sixteenth century historical studies, however, it was also clear that not only did the wealthiest and most powerful cardinals in Rome establish vast and important antiquities collections, but also that these collections were generally displayed within the confines of a Roman villa.[41] Even without the availability of such an appropriate exhibition setting for Ferdinando to display his antiquities upon his arrival in Rome, establishing such a site was a prime motivation behind his collecting passion.

When looking at Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection, a natural division appears to separate the antiquities under two headings. The first period regards his patronage from 1569 to 1575 and the second from 1576 to 1587. Embodied in this transition is a conscious adjustment in purpose, as the division itself marks Ferdinando de' Medici's purchase of the Ricci villa on the Pincian Hill in January 1576.[42] As a result of his acquiring this property, Ferdinando's focus for antiquities patronage had to change. Not only did it have to continue to reflect the same high standards of quality embodied in other important collections of sixteenth-century Rome, but it also had to begin to acknowledge Ferdinando's own plans for changing the character, design and decoration of his new suburban villa.

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[41]Again, with herms this is a particularly common occurrence. See especially Jean Jacques Boissard, Codex Holmiensis, Stockholm, Royal Library, Ms U90 and Codex Sangermanensis, Paris, Bibliothèque National, Ms 12.509; Ligorio, AST, Ms XXIII; and Achilles Status, *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, (Rome: 1569).

[42]Rome, Archivio di Stato, Collegio dei Notari Capitolini, prot. 434, ff. 54-57. Sections also published by Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, 3, (Rome: Quasar edition, 1990) 109-110.

Aside from the antiquities that Ferdinando de' Medici had acquired through his connection to the Vigna Poggio, his acquisitions of classical antique sculpture throughout his residency in Rome generally fell under three distinct headings. In common with most patrons, Ferdinando excavated antiquities, purchased some, and received others as gifts. These elements were not necessarily equal in occurrence throughout his career, but were all equally significant in providing a foundation for defining Ferdinando's antiquities patronage.

The beginning of Ferdinando de' Medici's career as an antiquities patron in Rome essentially lies with two key events. The first was, as already mentioned, his access to the Vigna Poggio immediately upon his arrival in Rome in 1569, and the second was his purchase, in March of this same year, of twenty-eight sculptures from the collection of the late Bishop of Pavia, Giovanni Girolamo Rossi.[43] A detailed record for all these works does not exist, but their general significance not only had a tremendous impact on developing the character of his antiquities patronage in general, but also on the decorative ideas which he later employed for the display of his collection at the Pincian Hill villa.

It is important to remember that as the second eldest surviving son of the Grand Duke Cosimo and thus a subordinate member of his immediate family, Ferdinando's antiquities patronage was not necessarily under his complete control. As with the church of S. Maria Domnica, the Vigna Poggio and the Palazzo Firenze, Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities patronage was also, for most of his career in Rome, linked to Florence in some way. The fact that Ferdinando's elder brother Francesco also made a purchase of thirty-one sculptures from the late Bishop of Pavia's collection acknowledges that

[43]See Chapter 2, 8, n. 22.

Ferdinando's Florentine family was well aware of the composition of his personal antiquities collection, even from its earliest acquisitions.[44]

Francesco was often considered not only as an external rival competing for objects or sculpture, but also, more significantly, as the first port of call for advice within the hierarchical infrastructure of the Medici family. With Ferdinando's purchase of the Niobids in 1584 it was Francesco who was first consulted about making the acquisition for the Medici family.[45] When a selection of three sculptures was to be made by the Medici family from the Cesi collection, Francesco was, at the very least, contacted to send an expert to review the works and make a selection for Ferdinando.[46] Although many of the pieces offered to Francesco eventually ended up in Ferdinando's collection, what becomes clear through this process of Ferdinando's acquisitions is that not only was Ferdinando's position in Rome secondary to that of his ruling family in Florence, but also that the Villa Medici itself was not necessarily considered by his family as his personal property, but, instead, that of the Medici family in general.

Contrary to the details of some of Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities patronage in Rome, however, the purchase of the Pincian Hill villa certainly gave Ferdinando a property that was his to enlarge, design and decorate. Even though the Florentine sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Ammanati made a report on the precise condition of the site to Francesco almost immediately upon its purchase in 1576, it remains somewhat unclear as to whether this report was a concession to Francesco, now the head of the Florentine Medici family, or an act of

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[44]Carlo Gaspari, "La collection d' antiques du cardinal Ferdinand," *La Villa Mèdicis*, vol. 2, ed. Andrè Chastel, (Rome: 1990): 446.
[45]Letter from Valerio Cioli to Francesco's secretary, Antonio Serguidi of 8th April 1583. Published in G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d' artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, vol. 3, (Florence: 1840), 451-452, no. CCCLXXXIV.
[46]Andres, 218.

opportunism on the part of Ferdinando to ensure both access to the artists, architects and designers that made up his brother's Tuscan court and to the family funds which would inevitably be required to undertake the reworking of this property. [47]

Without question some of the works acquired by Ferdinando de' Medici prior to his purchase of the Pincian Hill villa remained key pieces in his overall collection throughout his career as a Roman antiquities patron. However, in terms of the details of the objects themselves, the definition and categorisation of Ferdinando's antiquities patronage in general remains complex. There were initially many properties to consider in terms of Ferdinando's antiquities patronage at its earliest foundation, as the Vigna Poggio, La Magliana and the Palazzo Firenze would all have to be considered. However, with the purchase of the Pincian Hill villa in 1576 a new and more specific gathering point for all of Ferdinando's antiquities had been determined. As the pinnacle of Ferdinando's collecting, the Villa Medici in Rome and its ultimate decorative organisation forms the best vantage point from which his antiquities patronage can be viewed in its entirety.

In order to establish a clear picture of how Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection fits together it becomes essential not only to study all the details of how his works were acquired, but also to study its final status in terms of subject and object type as well as general condition and eventual display context. As information about Ferdinando's general acquisitions is often sparse, patchy or in some cases non existent, the only way in which to consider what his general objectives might have been is to first understand Ferdinando's antiquities collection as it existed in its most complete state. Only then can the fragmented

[47]Florence, Archivio di Stato (Henceforth ASF), Miscellanea Medicea 315, Insert 1, 116-117. The document is also published by Glenn M. Andres in "The Villa Medici in Rome: the Projects of 1576," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorschen Institutes in Florenz* 19 (1975), 301.

details of its accumulation be best understood in terms of how and why the pieces of his collection fit together the way they do and how his collection was designed to relate to those of his Roman predecessors and contemporaries.

In 1598 an inventory was made of the entire collection of antiquities at the Pincian Hill villa.[48] Why this document was compiled at this particular time remains uncertain. With Ferdinando's return to Florence in 1587 to assume the Tuscan throne upon the death of his brother Francesco, his relationship with Rome and especially with his Pincian Hill villa had changed considerably by the time that this inventory was made. But the fact that certain features of his antiquities collection, which were installed at the Villa Medici in Rome were continued as works-in-progress well after his return to Florence does suggest that there came a point at which Ferdinando saw his projects at the villa as being complete.

The fact that details such as the display of the Niobe group were recorded as being in place in the 1598 inventory, when work was known to have continued toward restoring the group even in 1594, does suggest that this inventory marks the end of Ferdinando's projects for the decoration of this site.[49] The 1598 inventory is, without question, one of the most important documents about Ferdinando de' Medici's Roman antiquities collection, and even though it occasionally lacks specificity and does not provide any indication as to the origin of the objects themselves, its general listing of Ferdinando's antiquities based on their location at the villa and with a brief description of their subject and condition does represent the most basic overview of both the sculptural content of his collection and its general arrangement for exhibition.

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[48]See Appendix. ASF Miscellanea Medicea, 315, 104-105. Published by Ferdinand Boyer in "Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis," *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33 (1929), 256-270.

[49]See Chapter V for a complete discussion the Niobids and their arrangement in the garden of the Pincian Hill villa.

Without this document our sense of the collection would be fundamentally incomplete, and although the earliest seventeenth-century engravings of the Villa Medici in Rome, like that produced by Domenico Buti in 1602, often corresponded with a list of the sculptures that appear in these images of the villa, by including all that can be seen in a view of the property and all that cannot, the 1598 Villa Medici sculpture inventory cannot be surpassed by these images, but only complemented, in terms an overview of further information about the decoration of this site (fig. 3).

The 1598 inventory, however, does not stand on its own as definitive resource. Instead, along with the other fragments of surviving documentation about the details of Ferdinando's acquisition process, the evolving content and exhibition of his collection, the inventory helps to create a general understanding of the relationships between the antiquities present at the Pincian Hill villa. While Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities patronage changed with his 1576 acquisition of the Villa Medici in Rome, the 1598 inventory presents the majority of his antiquities collection as it was eventually designed to relate together as a single unit.

From the 1598 inventory of antiquities at the Villa Medici in Rome it is possible to categorise Ferdinando de' Medici's collection in several ways. Aside from understanding that his collection was composed of many different types of sculptural, architectural and decorative objects, these works were also documented as being either complete or fragmentary in some way. The 1598 inventory of Ferdinando's antiquities collection is naturally divided into more specific categories of object type. These categories include not only complete or partially complete figures and figural fragments, but also reliefs, heads, busts, herms, architectural fragments, animal figures and other objects such as basins,

sarcophagi, columns, part columns as well as the Medici vase and the Medici obelisk. In addition to these elements, more modern works such as Giambologna's bronze figure of Mercury, which was not antique but contemporary to the late-sixteenth century, also appear itemised and counted in this inventory.[50] Through the inclusion of figures like the Mercury it also becomes clear that Ferdinando's antiquities patronage and the display of his overall collection were designed to ensure that old and new artistic objects worked together to create the general decorative and sculptural composition for this villa.

Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection contained historical and mythological figures, including representations of major and minor Greek and/or Roman deities as well as other characters which related to them. On the reliefs there were both mythological scenes and representations of ancient historical events. There were images of votive, funerary or celebratory rituals and offerings, numerous portraits of Roman Caesars, likenesses of particular members of their immediate families as well as representations of other important ancient historical, political, social and academic figures.

All the figurative and non-figurative objects identified as forming part of Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection represent a diverse cross section of subject type and physical quality. However, this was not necessarily a prime consideration in their acquisition. Even though Ferdinando de' Medici's patronage prior to his purchase of the Pincian Hill villa was significant in its size and contribution toward the general decoration of the villa, there is one purchase which had the greatest overall significance in defining the final character of his collection. This acquisition, which was under negotiation as early as 1579, was

[50]For the figure of Mercury see Appendix, no. 90.

the della Valle/Capranica collection, which arrived at the Villa Medici in Rome in 1584.[51]

The sheer number of works acquired with the purchase of the della Valle/Capranica antiquities collection makes it Ferdinando's largest single acquisition. In total there were more than one hundred pieces, which comprised nearly a quarter of his entire collection at the Villa Medici in Rome, as counted in the 1598 inventory.[52] These works, most of which were recorded earlier in the century when they adorned the courtyard of Andrea della Valle's Roman palace, not only added considerably to the number of works already in Ferdinando's possession, but also ensured that his personal patronage objectives met two important criteria (fig. 4). With the purchase of this collection, Ferdinando significantly increased the size and diversity of his collection, but also demonstrated taste in his careful selection of high quality antiquities.

From the arrangement and content of the 1598 Villa Medici inventory it is clear that the design and decoration of Ferdinando's villa set out to meet two distinct criteria in terms of decorative content and organisation. One was to accommodate the large number of antiquities which Ferdinando had accumulated both before and after he purchased this site, and the other was to highlight the pieces in his collection that were of particular significance and importance. Large numbers of sculptures of classical deities and busts of ancient historical personalities lined the exterior walls of the garden façade of Ferdinando's villa casino and marked each corner of his garden parterres, but at particular moments in both the villa casino and the garden small groups or single figures of importance were strategically placed to draw greater attention.

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[51]ASF, Miscelanea Medicea 316, ins. 5. A series of seven letters (Andres says nine, but two are copies) recording negotiations for the purchase of this collection by Ferdinando.
[52]For an inventory of the pieces which were acquired as part of the della Valle/Capranica collection see: Aurelio Gotti, *Gallerie di Firenze*, (Florence: 1872) 305-315.

These works, like the Medici vase purchased in 1569, the Medici Venus acquired in 1573, or the Niobe group acquired in 1584 but eventually composed of several restored figural fragments already in Ferdinando's collection, all worked together to formulate the overall decorative programme and composition of Ferdinando's Pincian Hill villa.[53] Although no documentation records the details of how each and every sculpture was acquired by Ferdinando, sufficient information survives to give an adequate representation.[54]

For Ferdinando de' Medici, the patronage of classical antiquities was essential throughout his career in Rome. Patronage not only helped define his individual character and taste, but the continued development of his collection also defined his position in the political hierarchy of the city. His villa and collection of sculpture grew to compete in importance with the older and more established antiquities patrons of Rome. His family history dictated the need for such personal and familial definition, while his particular relationships with his father, the Grand Duke Cosimo, and with Giovanni de' Medici, as Pope Leo X dictated the nature of his ultimate political position and the significance of this within the wider political framework of the Medici family. However, even in considering these ideas it remained his personal interest and ambition that ultimately dictated the specific character of his antiquities collection and its role as a form of artistic and iconographic expression.

Ferdinando's patronage of classical antiquities in Rome certainly had a beginning and an end. It began upon his arrival in the city in 1569, and he assiduously developed his collection during his years in Rome. The purchase of the Pincian

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[53]See Gaspari, 447 for the Medici vase and the Medici Venus. For the Niobe group see chapter V.

[54]Much of this information is due to be published by Carlo Gaspari and Suzanne B. Butters in vols. 4 and 5 of the French Academy in Rome *La Villa Médicis* series edited by André Chastel.

Hill villa marked an important watershed in the cumulative process of Ferdinando's collecting, but although his collection was diverse, Ferdinando consistently aimed to strengthen its quantity and quality in equal proportion. However, when he returned to Florence in 1587 to assume the throne of the Grand Duchy, his interests in patronage inevitably turned elsewhere. Nonetheless, he ensured the completion of his projects at the Villa Medici and the 1598 inventory marked the final stage of his collections in Rome and set the seal on his considerable achievements as a Roman patron of classical antiquities.

CHAPTER II

The Villa Medici Statue Gallery

On 15 July 1576 the Florentine architect Bartolommeo Ammannati wrote to Alessandro de' Medici, the Archbishop of Florence. In his letter he recited his report presented to Francesco de' Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, about the villa on the Pincian Hill in Rome recently purchased by the Grand Duke's younger brother, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici.[1] Cardinal de' Medici had officially come into possession of this property on 9 January 1576 when the contract of sale was drawn-up and signed in Rome.[2] In his correspondence Ammannati says:

> come il sito godeva tutta Roma e ch' ne ci era luogo pu (*sic*) bello di quello per veduta e quanto era fatto dal palazzo e che era necessario dar fine al resto per portelo abitare con qualche comodita (*sic*) e massime per chiudere una poccha di vento che gli poseno causare cativa aria per il vento Marino che tirando quello posta [che il] palazzo dano ogni comodia ancora dissi il consenso e il partemento honorevole che lo Ill.mo Cardinale ne cavara si per il vedere lavorare come qualche volta dar da desinare a' Cardinali e recrearsi con signori d'importenza.[3]

Ammannati, thus, clearly puts forward that alterations are needed to improve this property and specifically isolates what work needs to be undertaken by the Cardinal.

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[1]Florence, Archivio di Stato (henceforth ASF), Miscellanea Medicea 315, Insert 1, 116-117. This letter was also published by Glenn M. Andres in "The Villa Medici in Rome: the Projects of 1576" in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorschen Institutes in Florenz*, 19 (1975): 301.

[2]Rome, Archivio di Stato (henceforth ASR), Collegio dei Notari Capitolini Atti Campani, prot. 434, 54-57. Portions of this were published by Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, III (Rome: Quasar edition, 1990), 109-110.

[3]"As the situation enjoys all Rome of which this place is loveliest for a view and how much it was at once made from the palace and by which it is necessary to finish the rest in order to make it livable and with some comfort, and especially in order to arrest a gale of wind which may cause bad air to reach it from the sea wind which blows[about the] palace (and) may damage every comfort still present there and of which the honourable apartment that the most illustrius Cardinal is to obtain for himself to see and to work and a few times to give of to dine with the Cardinals and recreate with men of importance."

The building that resulted from Ammannati's suggestion to block a breeze causing unhealthy sea air to blow over the property was a statue gallery. This, however, was not what the Cardinal first intended to construct. Though its function as a collective display environment for antique sculpture was always the purpose for any planned building on this site, the architectural development which culminated in a gallery space underwent a fundamental transformation. Originally, an isolated garden pavilion was proposed and this, like the gallery design, was obliged to employ and respond to established architectural, decorative and collecting criteria which, in their most finalised forms, relate only in their use as exhibition settings for antiquities.

The change in plan from a pavilion to a gallery at the Villa Medici is of foremost importance. The issues regarding the significance of each environment must be traced in terms of its architectural development and this relationship to other similar spaces. The need to understand the design characteristics and implications embodied within both types of settings is also necessary to consider. This study of the Villa Medici gallery will outline the development of purpose-built collective display environments in Rome and elsewhere and explore the significance of each setting. The structure of this discussion will be guided by the designs and developments of Ferdinando de' Medici's statue gallery from its conception as a pavilion to its actual constructed form as a room in his villa casino. Only from this can the statue gallery find its place in the history of the collective display of classical antique sculpture.

By the Autumn of 1576 the painter Jacopo Zucchi must have already been working at Ferdinando's villa. He is recorded in an inventory of expenses for the site in an order for "Verde Azzuro da dipingere...23 agosto" made that year.[4]

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[4]ASF Guardaroba Medicea 97, 115. Also noted in G. M. Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome*, (New York: 1976),Vol. 1, 242 and Vol. 2, n. 511.

This notation also states, "Jacopo Zucchi pinture (*sic*) et dipingere al Giardino".[5] It is possible that the reference to the garden is made to clarify that Zucchi was using the requested colour to paint in Ferdinando's *scrittoio*. This small structure, believed to be one of the earliest constructions at the site, was built into and concealed by the ancient city wall which ran along the eastern perimeter of the Cardinal's property.[6] In a small chamber of this building three small views of the villa were painted onto its walls as part of a larger program of frescoed grotesques and the dominant colour used in these images is that which was recorded for Zucchi in August 1576 (fig. 5).[7]

Zucchi's three views of the Villa Medici include one of the site as it appeared before Cardinal Ricci's alterations, and a further two, views of the front and rear, are rich with detailed projects yet to be realised (figs. 1, 2 and 6).[8] Among the proposals which appeared in these early frescoes, in the rear view of the villa, there appears a small building which is situated perpendicular to the far left of the casino's garden façade (fig. 7). This small, narrow building, with its central vertical emphasis, is balanced horizontally by an articulated mezzanine which contains a row of small square windows. These openings surmount their elongated rectangular counterparts below, of which that in the centre forms the entry.

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[5]Ibid. "Jacopo Zucchi painter and to paint at the garden."
[6]Glenn M. Andres, "Villa Medici", 285, n. 26. Andres notes that on 17 May 1576 Cardinal de' Medici was allowed to make an opening in the ancient city wall in order to make a small door through to his property. Andres believes that this door was not actually through the city wall, but an access to the *scrittoio* which was constructed to vertically connect the level of the garden with that beyond the ancient Aurelian wall which was much lower.
[7]The next recorded order in which Zucchi was specifically mentioned was on 18 October 1576 and is a request for white paint and this appears in ASF, Guardaroba Medicea 97, 120. This could be an indication that the smaller painted scenes of the villa were made first and the surrounding grotesques which are painted onto a solid white background were added later.
[8]Andres, *Villa Medici*, vol. I, 243. Andres identified the early view of the property (fig. 2) as "showing the villa of the Crecenzi before Cardinal Ricci's work had begun."

A chequer board of lines compartmentalises each of these openings into a prescribed area on the façade. On the right side of the building is a single, large, elevated statue niche. It is likely that this would have been accompanied by another on the opposite side to balance the overall exterior surface composition. This building relates to the villa casino as it reflects its program of windows on the garden façade, but with a barrel vault over the central section and four curved volutes used for its support, it is distinguished as something different; not adopting the more linear roof line of the villa casino.

This small secondary structure acts as a physical boundary closing off the previously unprotected southern end of the property. It continues a perpendicular line from the villa casino that also includes the garden terrace (fig. 3). The terrace is framed on either side by small, square, domed buildings. Both are adorned with four statues, one placed at each corner of their squared roof lines. Of these structures, that closest to the casino is clearly shown to house a stair linking the ground plane of the garden to that of the elevated landscape whose earth is retained by the terrace itself. It is, thus, clear that the separate small building in Zucchi's fresco is a solution to Ammannati's earlier suggestion.

The isolated building in Zucchi's fresco lends itself to being defined as a pavilion. It is self-contained and can only be accessed form the villa garden. In addition, its situation, so near to the palace, distinguishes it from structures like the smaller-scale fictitious Tempietto or the Mansiones Musae used to decorate the gardens of Bomarzo and the Villa Lante at Bagnaia respectively; and leaves its function open to interpretation (figs. 8 and 9). Each recreational pavilion had a specific meaning attached to it which was evident in either a documented dedication or as an interpretation of ideas presented in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[9]

[9]J.B. Bury, "The Reputation of Bomarzo," *Journal of Garden History* 3 (1983): 108. Bury publishes a dedication of Francesco Sansovino in the book *Arcadia* written by Jacopo Sansovino, published in Venice in 1578. Bury reprints this dedicatory statement which specifically mentions

The 1588 Tarquinio Ligustri plan view of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia and the literary understanding of Bomarzo by Annibal Caro in his *Lettere familiari* both provide further clarification that these secondary structures were part of complex iconographical programs which blanketed the landscapes of both gardens (fig. 10).[10] The images of the Villa Medici in Zucchi's frescoes, however, do not suggest that this urban villa garden would apply a similar overall symbolically related schematic ambition.

At the Villa d'Este on the Quirinal Hill in Rome there existed an octagonal, domed pavilion. It was situated at the culmination point of a diagonal path which cut laterally through this contained landscape where it met with a peripheral circulation route along which it was possible to bypass several hedged parterres (fig. 11). An exterior elevation, plan and section of this structure were published by Antonio Lafreri in his *Speculum Romanae Magnificentae* (figs. 12 and 13).[11] The structure was erected in 1561 and is likely to have been known to Ferdinando through the publicity it received from Lafreri's publication.[12] These images present the structure as devoid of any ornament except the d'Este eagle and fleur de lys. Its classicizing centralised plan, its dome, pedimented portico, balustrade, and Doric columns make the structure seem an inventive adaptation of an ancient Roman temple. Its function was probably that of a dining loggia or to provide a necessary escape from the sun for those exploring the vast garden terrain, as benches were included in the sectional view of the building.

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that the tempietto was dedicated to the memory of his wife Giulia Farnese. The Masiones Musae are interpreted by Claudia Lazzaro-Bruno, "The Villa Lante at Bagnaia: An Allegory of Art and Nature", *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977): 557. Here Lazzaro-Bruno interprets these twin pavilions as a symbollic interpretation of the "twin peaks of Mount Parnassus, the home of the Muses" due to their physical relationship to some of the water works of the garden.

[10]Margaretta J. Darnall and Mark S. Weil, "Il Sacro Bosco di Bomarzo: Its 16th-Century Literary and Antiquarian Context", *Journal of Garden History* 4 (1984): 84.

[11]C. Hülsen, "Das *Speculum Romanae Magnificentae* des Antonio Lafreri", in *Collectanea Variae Doctrina, Leoni Olschki, Bibliopolae Florentino Sexagenario Obtulerunt*, (Munich: 1921).

[12]Ibid.

The Villa d'Este pavilion, as seen in the images published by Lafreri, had four means of entry. On either side of each of these entries was a small circular window. Above, a recessed mezzanine with a deep parapet was encircled by a balustrade. On each of the eight flat square wall surfaces of this level, a large circular window was inscribed. All these openings would have made the space light and airy. The structure does not seem to contain the visitor but rather, is designed to be circulated through or to briefly pause within while exploring the landmarks of the garden. There is only a scattering of niches on the interior wall surfaces which could contain a limited selection of small-scale statues. Thus, the contemplation of an elaborate artistic display was not the purpose of this small shelter.

In 1556 Ulisse Aldrovandi catalogued and recorded details of many antique sculpture collections displayed at villas or other public and private locations in the city of Rome. He published his documentation as part of Lucio Mauro's topographical itinerary of the ancient monuments of the city.[13] In his text Aldrovandi cites more than 150 locations in Rome where antique sculptures were displayed, and most of the works he mentions are of significant artistic merit or historical value.[14]

In Aldrovandi's text a garden which seemed to rank quite high in his estimation of quality and content was that of the Palazzo Cesi located in Vatican Borgo.[15] This garden is also known to have had a pavilion which was probably

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[13]Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle Statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono*, in Lucio Mauro, *L' antichità della città di Roma*, (Venice: 1556).

[14]For works such at the Laocoön, in the Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere, reference to the historical decription of the sculpture made by the Elder Pliny in his *Natural History* is made. In addition, most other works mentioned by Aldrovrandi are decribed as "bellissimo" or as being "celebrato" or "un bel fragmento."

[15]Aldovrandi, *Delle statue*, 122-141. Even though the Cesi collection follows the Vatican in Aldrovrandi because of its location in the Vatican Borgo, the length of its description, almost twenty pages, clearly highlights this collection as one of the finest in Rome during the middle of the sixteenth century.

constructed after 1537 when Federico Cesi inherited the site upon the death of his brother, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Cesi, in that year.[16] This building was situated along the eastern peripheral boundary of the property with the back of the structure set into an earthen rise.[17] This small building terminated the main axial circulation route of the garden and is seen in a painting of the property by Hendrick van Cleef as being situated at some distance from the palace (fig. 14). It was not part of any program of garden iconography and was constructed with the sole purpose of displaying a selection of the Cesi family's vast collection of antique sculpture. The structure may have contained some of the finer pieces in the collection as those inside would have benefited greatly by being protected from the elements.[18]

The design of the Cesi antiquarium employed a Greek cross plan with each side wall projected a few feet away from its central core. The centre of the building had a domed roof and each lateral extension was covered by a barrel vault. The walls within were composed of a flat square surface surmounted by a further area shaped as a half circle. These details can be seen in two photographs of the building taken by Domenico Gnoli early in the twentieth century, just before the antiquarium was demolished (figs. 15 and 16). In Gnoli's visual record of the interior the walls appear with a regular and consistent pattern of niches, rounded,

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[16]Marjon van der Meulen, " Cardinal Cesi's Antique Sculpture Garden: Notes on a Painting by Hendrick van Cleef III", *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974): 18 and 21. Van der Muelen establishes that much restoration had been undertaken by Federico Cesi as she has noticed that some statues, which were later recorded as being restored when the property was in the posession of Federico, but do not appear as such in the visual recordings of the site made by Maarten van Heemskerck "during his stay in Rome (1532-36)." Given Federico's aparent attention to restoration and re-organisation, it is likely that he was responsible for constructing this garden pavilion.

[17]C. Huelsen, "Römische Antikengärten des XVI Jahrhunderts", *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 4 (1917): 1-14, for the Cesi garden. Published here is the description of the Cesi garden by Maximilian van Waelscapple in Cod. Berlin. Lat. A61s f. 62. Here Waelscapple says about the antiquarium, "Situs est hic in loco amoenissimo: ex una parte planiciem, ex altera montem habet amoenissimum."

[18]Aldrovandi only makes specific reference to a few statues on the interior of the structure. He outlines completely, all the busts and figures used to decorated the exterior, but never establishes a clear sense of the interior atmosphere.

rectangular and circular, which were set into each wall surface. Thus, these provided a prescribed program for the display of antique statues and busts of varying size within the small building. Any remaining surface space was covered with geometric patterns of marble polychrome laid delicately over underlying structural brick-work. This type of surface ornament was also employed to decorate slightly recessed surface panels which accompanied the niches on some of the walls.

On the garden façade of the building exterior, through which entry could be gained, was a pediment designed to conceal details of the interior spatial organisation. The pediment was supported by four engaged columns or pilasters and hid the dome as well as the barrel vaults when the building was approached from the main garden axis. Though only seen off in the distance in van Cleef's painting, along the roof line of the pediment three statues appear, one at each corner of this triangular frontispiece.[19] The two sphinxes, mentioned by Aldrovandi and Waellscapple are also seen in this painting on either side of the entrance to this building.[20]

This small isolated building, shown off in the distance from the Cesi palace, which was illustrated in the foreground of van Cleef's painting, shows a similar relationship to that of the Villa d'Este octagonal pavilion with its corresponding residential casino. The relationship of these small separate pavilions to their accompanying larger residential structures was not, however, as immediate as the pavilion in Zucchi's fresco was to the Medici villa casino. Nonetheless, in each property the garden pavilions maintained only a visual correspondence with

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[19]In Aldrovandi's *Delle statue*, 129 five statues are said to adorn this same roofline. "Su nella cima dell'Antiquario si veggono cinque idoli antiche marmorei."

[20]Ibid. 128, Aldrovandi says, "Apresso si trovano due sphingi di pietra bruniccia, poste sopra due basi bianche marmoree." Huelsen, "Antikengärten", 36, here Waelscapple states, "fert haec calatum omnis generis fructibus plenum, ante ligneam et cancellatam portam occurrant Sphinges Aegyptiae duac ex marmore nigro".

the main casino. In terms of architectural style, no such clearly visible relationship between these pavilions and the larger residential buildings is evident. However, the garden pavilion, as represented in van Cleef's painting and Gnoli's photographs, was designed as a contained environment whose interior was separate from its pastoral surroundings due to a lack of surface openings. As a result, no matter where this building would have been erected in the Cesi garden, once it was entered the garden was left behind and the focus of a visitor's attention had to turn to the interior contents. This fundamental design characteristic makes this building the most appropriate example to use when trying to identify the specific purpose of the secondary structure seen in Zucchi's rear view of the Villa Medici garden.

In Ulisse Aldrovandi's passage about the Cesi collection he refers to this building with the term *Antiquario.*[21] The self-contained nature of the structure and the elaborate program of niches set into its interior wall surfaces reinforce that this building was designed as a purpose-built collective display environment. The antiquarium exhibited only a portion of this patron's collection, and in van Cleef's painting a scattering of statues and fragments left resting along the edges of earthen paths or strategically situated within more organised sections of landscape are depicted. The small building seen in Zucchi's fresco, planned for the Villa Medici must also be an antiquarium. A row of seven niches set into the

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[21] Aldrovrandi, *Delle statue*, 128 and 129, Aldrovandi first uses the the term "antiquario" when he describes the facade of this pavilion saying, "Nel frontispitio pio dell' Antiquario." However, Maximillian van Waelscapole, in his record of the property, Hülsen, *Antikengärten*, 36 describes this building with the Latin "aedibus" which is probably adapted from the Latin "aedis" meaning "temple". The term "antiquario," however, was also used in the sixteenth century by Gorgio Vasari (ed. Milanese) in his *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* [1568], vol. 4, (Florence: 1906), 489, as he states, "In un bellissimo antiquario e studio che ha fatto il signore Cesare Gonzaga." Here, Vasari is making reference to Cesare Gonzaga's gallery in his palace at Guastalla which did collectively display classical antique sculpture, but did this among other artistic objects. This is an isolated use of the term and, in the surviving correspondence between Gonzaga and the antiquites dealer Bishop Gerolamo Garimberto published by Clifford M. Brown with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, in *Our Accustomed Discourse on the Antique: Cesare Gonzaga and Gerolamo Garimberto: Two Renaissance Collectors of Greco-Roman Art*, (New York: 1993), only the term "galleria" appears in these letters to describe this space.

accompanying terrace to display additional statues and the figures adorning the tops of its adjoining square buildings would have meant that this villa was also to employ the same notion of interior and exterior sculpture display.

Even before Ferdinando de' Medici purchased the Ricci Villa, he was actively collecting antique sculpture. Seven years earlier he had received twenty-eight works from the collection of Giovanni Girolamo Rossi, Bishop of Viterbo.[22] On 16 March 1576 Ferdinando also received permission from the Apostolic Camera to conduct his own excavations within the confines of the city.[23] An antiquarium would have been a useful addition to the Cardinal's villa considering his established collecting ambitions. By specifically choosing to build such a structure, Ferdinando could also establish a direct relationship between his collection and that of Cesi family, which was already noted for both its size and quality. This association would suggest that Cardinal Medici was setting the stage for his collection to eventually rank with the most notable in the city.

At some point in the design of the Villa Medici, after Zucchi had laid out the initial program of additions and modifications to the pre-existing site features in his frescoed views, the idea for an antiquarium was abandoned in favour of a statue gallery. The gallery would eventually cover the same site as the proposed antiquarium, but would now function as a physical perpendicular appendage to the main body of the villa casino. One third of its length would be attached along the width of the residence and the remainder project out into the garden. No longer an isolated environment, this statue gallery was to become a structure

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[22]Andres, *Villa Medici*, 216-217 recites the data concerning the twenty-eight works presented by Boyer in his "Les Antiques de la Villa Médicis" in *Revue de l'art ancient et moderne* 55 (1929): 201-214. See also F. Boyer, "Nouveaux documents sur les Antiques Médicis", *Annuales de la Faculté et des universites du Midi-Études italiennes* 3 (1933): 5-16, for a description of Gerolamo Garimberto's custodial responsibilities with this collection.

[23]ASF Miscellanea Medicea, 315, 104-105. This document was also published by Boyer in "Un Inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis", *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33 (1929): 259, n. 1.

which could be accessed from within the casino and from the landscape behind the building. But why did Ferdinando change his mind?

In the Younger Pliny's letter to Clusinius Gallus he describes, in detail, his villa at Laurentinum.[24] Pliny writes, "At the far end of the terrace, the arcade and the garden is a suite of rooms which are really and truly my favourites, for I had them built myself."[25] Here, he uses term *diaeta* to describe this small isolated, multi-room structure in his villa garden. Pliny goes on to say, "When I retire to this suite I feel as if I have left my house altogether" and continues, stating "when the rest of the roof resounds with festive cries in the holiday freedom, for I am not disturbing my household's merrymaking nor they my work."[26] These comments illustrate that this building was a private self-contained space suitable for study when he wished to continue work during a time of festivity at his villa.

In 1500 the term *diaetam* was used by Giuliano Cesarini in an inscription on a secondary building in his Roman palace garden. The inscribed statement follows, "Julianus sancti Angeli diaconus cardinalis caesarinus diaetam hanc statuariam studiis suis et gentilium suorum voluptati honestae dicavit suo natali die xxxiiii, xiii Kal. iunii, Alexandri vi pont. max. anno viii, saultis md, ab U.C. mmccxxxiii."[27] Here, the term *statuariam* is added to clarify the purpose of the building as an exhibition space for statues while the term *diaetam* makes a clear

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[24]Pliny, *Letters and Panegyricus*, (Loeb Classical Library) with a translation by Betty Radice, vol. 1, (Cambridge, MA, 1989), (Book 2, 17, 20-25), 140-143.
[25]Ibid., (Book 2, 17, 20), 141. "In capite xysti, deinceps cryptoporticus horti, diaeta est amores mei, re vera amores: ipse posui."
[26]Ibid., 141 and 143.
[27]Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi*, vol. 1, 175. This statement appears translated in David Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1991), 18, as "Guiliano Cesarini, cardinal deacon of Sant'Angelo, has dedicated this statuary pavilion to his studies and to the decorous pleasure of his countrymen on his thirty-fourth birthday, the thirteenth Kalends of June [May 20] of the eighth year of Pope Alexander VI, of the fifteen-hundredth of our Lord, and of the two thousand and two hundred and fifty-third year of the founding of the city."

association to the structure described by Pliny.[28] Thus, the notions of study and seclusion referred to in the inscription on Cesarini's Statuariam reinforce that a specific reference to Pliny's statement was being made here.

A decade later the statue court of the Vatican Belvedere was under construction. This space, like the Cesarini *Diaetam Statuariam* was specifically created as a collective display environment for statues. Designed by Bramante as part of the Cortile del Belvedere, the statue court was to exhibit some of the finest antique sculptures in the Vatican collection.[29] It was secluded behind the Cortile exedra and adjacent to the Villa Belvedere (fig. 17). Set into each of the four corners of this square court was a deep statue niche with a rectangular opening above to illuminate the figure contained within (fig. 18). A few sculptures were placed in the open court, arranged among a highly organised program of planted citrus trees.

At the entrance to the space, as with the Cesarini Statuarium, was a Latin inscription. Perhaps employed to provide thoughtful insight regarding the symbolic significance of this space and its decoration within the context of the Vatican, the inscription, which read "PROCUL ESTE PROPHANI", and was taken from a particular passage in Virgil's *Aeneid*, clearly defined the sacred nature of this space through an direct association to an ancient context.[30] Again, reflecting the notion of a classical antique idea attached to a collective display setting, the Statue Court and the Cesarini Statuariam are the only two such spaces existing in Rome prior to the design of the Cesi antiquarium.

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[28]The term *statuarius* being defined as "relating to statues." See *Cassell's Latin Dictionary*, (London: 1994 edition), 569.

[29]Aldovrandi, *Delle statue*, 115-122, provides a good overall impression of the quality of sculpture displayed in the Statue Court in 1550 when he was preparing this text.

[30]Brummer, *Statue Court*, 239. Brummer also provides a detailed and complex analysis of the symbollic meanings attached to the decorative development of the Statue Court at different times, and espcially in relation to both Popes Julius II and Leo X. See espeically 231-240.

In addition to the Statue Court and the Cesarini Statuariam another purpose-built collective display environment which, when finished, was contemporary with the Cesi antiquarium was the sculpture court in the palace of Cardinal Andrea della Valle. Here, a careful selection of antique marbles in the form of statues, masks, busts and inscriptions were arranged along two vertical facing wall surfaces and divided according to their given forms. In the surviving images of this court a clear sense of the organisation and a suggestion of the true atmosphere of this setting can be understood (figs. 4 and 19). Both of these surfaces were visually fragmented by a decorative moulding which ran horizontally across each wall, and as a result the arrangement of niches could then be read either according to its lateral emphasis or vertically as every statue niche was aligned to correspond to that either above or below.

On the lower level of these walls the three central statue niches are rectangular while those on either side and above are arched. Above the middle three were round niches for busts complemented by a row of masks over each statue niche on the upper level of the wall. Between the niches on the lower segment there are trellises covered by vegetation and small trees appear planted in contained beds of earth. Above the niches are a series of antique reliefs and over these appear inscriptions, one of which formally defines this environment as a *hortus pensilius*.[31]

Within these images a wide range of subjects is represented with a variety of figural forms. Some are identifiable as representing mythological deities, others are perhaps, representations of Roman emperors, as they appear in Roman military cuirass, and still more simply cannot be specifically identified. With this understanding, the impression given in the images of the court is that the

[31]This inscription, "Ad collabentium [...] statuarum instaurationem pensiliumque hortorum ornamentum", appears in David Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening*, (Princeton: 1991), 268, appendix 4, 5.

priority was either to accommodate niches with equally sized figures of considerable artistic merit or that this selection, already owned by the patron, needed to be arranged in a relatively small, coherent setting.

The Cesi structure, like the Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere and the Cesarini Statuarium, may also have found inspiration from antique ideals. The centralised architectural format, as that employed in the design for the Cesi space, was discussed by Alberti in his *De re aedificatoria* as an ideal design for an ancient Roman temple.[32] This idea was also actively adapted and studied as a church design in the late fifteenth century.[33] In 1540, Sebastiano Serlio published the third book of his treatise on architecture, and appearing within it is a strikingly similar plan and section to that of the Cesi antiquarium which he includes in his discussion of ancient Roman temple design (figs. 20 and 21).[34] Collections like that of Asinius Pollio and of the Templum Pacis highlighted in the writings of the Elder Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis* may also have served as a further reinforcement to this specific choice of an established religious architectural form. In his text Pliny gives several of the sculptures contained in these environments significant praise and attention and these highlighted works are discussed as being part of larger displayed collections.[35]

It is likely that visual and written references such as these provided the justification for the patron's or designer's choice of a centralised, Greek cross

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[32]Leon Battista Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, ed. by G. Orlandi and P. Portoghesi, vol. 2, (Milan: 1966), Book 7, Chapter 4.

[33]Chrches with a similar plan to that of the Cesi antiquarium include S. Maria delle Carceri dating from c.1485, in Prato and S. Sebastiano designed c. 1460, in Mantua. Existing centralised church plans were also a feature in Sebastiano Serlio's published studies on architecture in book five which was published in Venice in 1547.

[34]Sebastiano Serlio, *The Five Books on Architecture*, reprint of the 1611 English edition, (New York: 1982), Book 4, Chapter 4, 14v. "This temple is without Rome, made part of Marble, and the rest of Brick, it is thought that it was a Sepulchure..."

[35]For the collection of Asinius Pollio see Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 10, book 36, trans. by D.E. Eichholz, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1962), 33-34. For the Templum Pacis see Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 9, book 34, trans. by H. Rackham, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1952), 84.

architectural format for the Cesi antiquarium. In terms of its interior surface decoration and use as a sculptural exhibition environment, this building also relates to Alberti's comments that temples should be constructed with brick, faced with a more appealing stone, and decorated with sculpture.[36] Seen in van Cleef's painting, the front façade of the antiquarium with its pediment supported by columns or pilasters, gives a further impression of being modelled on ancient Roman temple fronts and this feature was also discussed and actively employed in Alberti's architecture.[37] With this specific selection of architectural and decorative details the Cesi antiquarium clearly complies with all of the ideals understood to be part of ancient Roman temple designs in late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.

Instead of establishing a potentially symbolic connection to the Cesi antiquarium and the Roman display traditions embodied in its conception, Ferdinando de' Medici chose to create a statue gallery. Previous to this decision, several such display environments had already been established in residences of the Gonzaga, d'Este, Grimani and Medici families.[38] A statue gallery suggested a particular and alternative set of collecting ambitions to those used by patrons intending to decorate Roman villa gardens. Patrons of classical antique sculpture who were intending to decorate a single defined room within the confines of their palace had to be highly selective in their search for and acquisition of sculptural objects. As a result, subject, size and quality were of foremost importance in these circumstances. Due to spatial limitations, these collective exhibitions had less to do with the cumulative number of objects in the patron's possession, as had become the emphasis in Roman villa displays, and more to do with occupying a

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[36]Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, Book 7, Chapter 10. See also note 35 for Serlio's mention of brick and marble construction.
[37]Ibid. Book 7.
[38]The list of existant galleries before 1570 is noted by Clifford M. Brown with Anna Maria Lorenzoni, in "Bishop Gerolamo Garimberto Archaeological Advisor to Guglielmo Gonzaga Duke of Mantua (1570-1574)," *Arte Lombarda* 83 (1987): 56, n. 6.

large number of identical niches placed equally around a room. This may be why some palace galleries began to incorporate specific themes into their decoration.

The earliest surviving design of the Villa Medici statue gallery shows a pattern of window openings alternated along most of its interior wall surfaces (fig. 22). This alternation was only varied on the wall that was shared with rooms contained within the residential core of the casino. Along its surface eight niches were represented as immediately following one another. The author and date of this drawing is unknown. The floor plan of the succeeding *apartamento nobile* is also represented on the sheet but this illustration does not include any vertical continuation of the statue gallery and thus it is clear that the space was originally conceived of as a single story extension from the pre-existing architectural format of the villa casino seen in Zucchi's early frescoed view of this building (fig. 7).

In this plan there is no indication of where entry into the space would occur. However, the circulation routes within the residential segment were clearly articulated. Much time and attention was given to the details of surface organisation, mentioned above, but plans for access routes into the space must have been of lesser importance when this drawing was made. With a program of niches as carefully articulated as occurs in this illustration it seems strange that a crucial detail, such as entry, could be ignored. This space is obviously in an early stage of development and the program of surface details required for a galley had been considered, but not yet finalised.

Seven surviving drawing fragments reveal a proposal for the layout and decoration of the Villa Medici statue gallery interior (figs. 23-29).[39] These elevations are, like the frescoed views of the villa, the work of Jacopo Zucchi.[40] The images are undated, but some of the fragments are impressed with a Florentine watermark of 1576.[41] When these drawing segments are placed end to end they offer an impression of how a continuous expanse of wall surface within the gallery might have appeared.[42] In these drawings fourteen statue niches are alternated with twelve windows and two doors. Separating each of these are pilasters which rise from the floor to the ceiling and above all of the windows are circular niches for portrait busts. All the niches in these Zucchi drawings are occupied, while several framed rectangular surfaces, situated above every door and statue niche, remain empty. On one of the drawing sheets two pilasters are adorned with frescoed grotesques implying that this type of decoration would have been similarly employed throughout the space. On either side of each circular niche a foreshortened putto or a sphinx was illustrated and paired accordingly.

In each circular niche Zucchi illustrated a portrait bust. Immediately below were decorative nameplates. Each of these was inscribed with a full or abbreviated inscription identifying all these figures as representations of the twelve Caesars

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[39]London, Victoria and Albert Museum 2258 and 2259. London, Royal Institute of British Architects, A 2/1, A 2/1(1), A 2/1(2), A 2/1(3), A 2/1(4). The drawings have only been reproduced together on one occasion, in André Chastel, *La Villa Médicis*, vol. 1, (Rome: 1989), 191-193, cat. 194 A-G.

[40]Originally, the Victoria and Albert drawings were identified as being by Taddeo Zuccaro and they still appear labelled as such in their matted frames. Philip Pouncy identified these drawings as being by Zucchi, but they were assumed to be studies for his painted decorations in the gallery of the Rucellai Palace on the Corso (now the Palazzo Ruspoli). Edmund Pillsbury identified these fragments as being studies for the statue gallery at the Villa Medici in "Jacopo Zucchi: His Life and Works," Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1973.

[41]The identification of the watermark was noted in *Architectual Drawings from the Collection of the RIBA*, (London: 1961). Pillsbury also suggests the date for these drawings as 1583-84, coinciding with arrival of the della Valle/Capranica collection of antique sculpture in 1584.

[42]The eventual size of the gallery, including twenty-five statue niches, each separated accordingly by either a window or a door, makes this collective image with fourteen examples of each component slightly longer than what actually occurred, but nonetheless an effective evocation of the setting.

whose lives were documented by Suetonious. This set, thus, implies a chronological arrangement for Zucchi's drawing fragments. However, problems arise as most of the labelled identifications are not written directly on to the drawing sheet, but are attachments.[43] In addition, the isolated images of the interior elevation may not all represent corresponding sections of a single wall.[44] Instead, some fragments are, possibly, independent representations of surface areas which are not adjacent.

In 1616 another set of anonymously made plans of the Villa Medici casino, representing the ground floor of the garden level and its succeeding *apartamento nobile*, were made (figs. 30 and 31).[45] In these drawings, not only does a second level to the statue gallery now appear, though without any defined internal organisation, but at least four doors are clearly marked. One admits entrance from the garden behind the building and another connects with a small stair off the south-west corner of the gallery while a third opens onto a slightly projected terrace designed for the public street facade of the casino, and the last links an adjacent *camera*, situated between the gallery and another similar room connected to the *sala grande*. In addition, another three possible circulation points along the shared internal wall of the gallery and the pre-existing, principal casino structure, are implied but represented as if they were internal windows.[46]

Though no statue niches are indicated in the plan of 1616, twenty-two equally spaced openings are articulated along the walls of the statue gallery. The statue niches seen in Zucchi's interior elevation segments, would have been alternated

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[43]The lables of CLAVD and NERO are actually covering other writing, though it is difficult to read what is underneath.

[44]Edmund Pillsbury, "Jacopo Zucchi," 142. Here Pillsbury states, "these drawings represent a project for the systemization and decoration of the entire south side and two western most bays of the north side of the gallery", but does not elaborate as to how he came to this conclusion. Andres in *Villa Medici*, vol. 1, 259, also makes an identical comment.

[45]Chastel, vol. 1, 156-157, cat. 168A and 168B.

[46]In later drawings of the Villa c. 1699, by the architect Carlo Fontana, Miscellanea Medicea 315, ins. 3, one of these possible circulation routes is omitted.

between the openings marked on this plan. In the 1674 plans of the Villa Medici, made by architect Carlo Fontana, twenty-two statue niches are represented as alternating with window and door openings which correspond exactly to those in the plans made fifty eight years previously (fig. 32). However, these statue niches only occur on the elongated facing walls of the gallery. As a result, this composition implies that there were at least a further five segments to Zucchi's interior elevation images which have not survived. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the program of niches, as represented in Fontana's drawings, helps to clarify which surviving elevation fragments by Jacopo Zucchi do not represent immediately adjacent sections of the interior wall surfaces. The two segments which show the door openings, when compared to this plan, can be interpreted as representing surface areas on opposing walls.[47]

The portrait busts represented in Zucchi's elevations, labelled as the twelve Caesars, highlight that these illustrations were very much working drawings. The attached names which identify the busts were only part of other larger alterations.[48] On all the drawing fragments, approximately 30 centimetres from the bottom of the page, there is a continuous cut across each sheet indicating that the lowest portion has been removed and then, later re-attached. Additional lines, of a comparatively less refined quality, were then added to represent the lower ledge of each window, suggesting that the original height had been shortened. The disproportionately wide door frames seen in two of the segments are an additional indication of this alteration. Thus, it is probably correct to

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[47]See note 45.

[48]In addition to these alterations some of the drawing fragments have had pilasters and half-pilasters attached. In one instance, where a half pilaster has been added, on the fragment with the busts labelled CLAUD and NERO, to the far right edge of the page, following a window, reveals drawn lines on its right edge to indicate that it was part of another segment that must have been cut apart. The lines that appear on the edge of the added half-pilaster indicate that a window was to follow. This, however, would have meant that a window would follow another and this did not follow the rigid, established pattern which alternated between a window and a statue niche. It is possible that the missing fragments did not survive as a result of being cut apart and some of their pieces became additions to the surviving seven fragments.

assume that Cardinal de' Medici and Jacopo Zucchi must have considered a variety of decorative and organisational ideas before finalising the eventual program used for this space.

The consistent alternation between a window or door and statue niche and the equally regular placement of circular niches for busts offer no opportunity for any hierarchy to be established among the like groups of sculptural works, proposed in Zucchi's elevations, to be exhibited in this space. This surface organisation thus reads like that employed along the *piano nobile* level of the Palazzo Spada exterior (fig. 33). However, the vertical hierarchy employed along this exterior surface has been compressed in the Villa Medici statue gallery so that sculpture and applied surface decoration are interplayed in a more immediate complementary manner. If the grotesques, seen in Zucchi's drawings on two of the pilasters, had decorated all the additional like surfaces in this space, the statues displayed in each niche would have been understood very differently (fig. 23). The more curvilinear forms of the sculptures would merely have blended into the surrounding surface decoration rather than contrasting with the more rigid and rectilinear architectural details.

In each of the statue niches in Zucchi's elevations and in all the circular niches for busts, the sculptures deployed throughout would have made the Villa Medici statue gallery a hall of the gods and Caesars.[49] Most of the statues can be identified by their stance, physical form or selection of attributes, and only a few remain anonymous.[50] This rigidly organised decorative program, suggested in Zucchi's elevation drawings, is highly unusual for a display space of antique sculpture. It would certainly have been ambitious for Ferdinando to assume the

[49]This idea was also expressed by Andres,*Villa Medici*, vol. 1, 259.
[50]In Chastel, *Villa Médicis*, vol. 1, 192, the figures of Mars, Minerva, Saturn, a Cybele, Apollo, Bacchus, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcan, Venus, Mercury, a satyr, and a nymph are suggested, only one figure is left without any guess at identification and five of those previously mentioned are acknowledged as being questionable identifications.

task of acquiring such a specific selection of ancient objects, and these aspirations seem to suggest that the idea for such a scheme was inspired by painted decorations. It may also be an indication that the Cardinal was planning to employ modern copies of ancient works rather than authentic pieces in order to maintain the continuity of subject matter.

The Roman antiquities dealer Bishop Gerolamo Garimberto, who died in 1575, a year before Cardinal de' Medici's acquisition of the Ricci villa, clearly had a fundamental influence on Ferdinando's ambitions as a patron and on Zucchi's as a decorator. His role as negotiator and advisor to Cesare and Guglielmo Gonzaga, and the patronage ideals achieved through his personal intercession on behalf of these collectors, had firmly established specific criteria to be followed by any patron intending to decorate a statue gallery.[51] In his drawings Zucchi shows that Ferdinando wished to take Garimberto's ideals a step further in his new display space.

From 1572 to 1574 Gerolamo Garimberto was called upon by Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga to aid in his search for antique sculptures to decorate his Galleria degli Mesi.[52] This exhibition space was a recent enlargement of Duke Federico Gonzaga's Loggia dei Marmi in the Ducal Palace at Mantua which had been designed and decorated thirty years previously by the painter Giulio Romano. Among the surviving correspondence between Garimberto and Gonzaga as well as the written documentation of others who aided in Gonzaga's search for specific antique sculptures, a new relationship between collecting aspirations and gallery design is revealed. With the assistance of Garimberto, Gonzaga's search included the acquisition of an antique set of the heads of the twelve Caesars.[53]

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[51]Gerolamo Garibmerto's relationship to Cesare is outlined in the text and accompanying documentation published by Brown in *Our Accustomed Discourse*. His relationship with Guglielmo Gonzaga is discussed in Brown, "Archaeological Advisor", 32-58.
[52]Brown, "Archaeological Advisor", 32-58.
[53]Ibid., 50-51, documents 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 17.

Patronage of such subjects was, however, already an established Roman phenomenon, and in addition, this choice of subject also reflected the painted decoration used in another room in this palace, the Gabinetto degli Cesari, commissioned by his father, Duke Federico II.[54]

In the Gabinetto, a set of portraits of the twelve Caesars, painted by Titian, was displayed at eye level around the room. According to Vasari these works were a singularly rare collection of images in terms of their quality of execution.[55] It is clear from the surviving correspondence of the Duke Federico II that Titian was already at work on the paintings in February 1537.[56] None have survived, but they are recorded by copies displayed in their place and the sense of how the space would have originally appeared remains somewhat intact. A series of drawings by Ippolito Andreasi, made later in the century, also records the portraits Titian painted for this room.[57] These portraits were accompanied by frescoed scenes painted onto the wall surface below each image of a Caesar. Small-scale bronze statues of figures from classical Roman mythology were also

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[54]Ibid., 57, n. 47, includes a list of "collectors owning modern copies of the busts of the 12 Caesars." In this list Brown notes Alessandro Farnese, Francesco Gonzaga and Chalres I de Guise. In Vasari (ed. Milanese), *Vite*, vol. 7, 550, another set, made for Pope Julius III, is also mentioned and it is possibly this set which is being discussed in a letter published by Brown, in *Our Accostomed Discourse*, 100, document 73. Documentation regarding the paintings comissioned by Federico Gonzaga for his Gabinetto degli Cesari is published in Daniela Ferrari (ed.), *Giulio Romano: Repertorio di fonti documentari*, (Mantua: 1992), pp. 713, 715-718.
[55]Vasari (ed. Milanese), *Vite*, vol. 5, 544-545, states, "... in una anticamera, dodici storie a olio sotto le teste de' dodici imperatori, state prima dipinte da Tiziano Vecellio che sono tenute rare."
[56]Farrari (ed.), *Giulio Romano*, 713. Letter from Federico II Gonzaga to the Mantuan ambassador Benedetto Agnello enquiring as to Titian's progress with these paintings.
[57]These drawings are in the Kunstmuseum in Düsseldorf F. P. 10912, 10933, 10914, 10915, 10934, 10910, 10911, 10931, 10935, 10913, and 10932. They are published and discussed by F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, vol. 1, 170-179, fig. 365 (who discusses the drawings as being Strada's). David Chambers and Jane Martineau, *The Splendours of the Gonzaga*, exhib. cat., 1981, 190-191, cat. 168-178. Egon Verheyen, "Jacopo Strada's Mantuan Drawings of 1567-1568," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967): 62-70, figs. 13-25 (again as being Strada). Harold Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 3, 43 ff., figs. 34-46 compares the images with ancient Roman coins to try and establish possible sources for inspiration for these works. Richard Harprath, "Ippolito Andreasi as a Draughtsman," *Master Drawings* 22 (1984): 3-27 (also as Strada).

used as decoration in this space and were placed in niches between Titian's Caesars.[58]

This early painted set of the twelve Caesars was not the only use of such images in Italian palace decorations to precede Gariberto's efforts of acquiring such antique objects for Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. In 1562 Cardinal Alessandro Farnese commissioned a set of such busts to decorate his Roman palace from Tommaso della Porta, a Milanese sculptor residing in Rome.[59] The official contract for these works was drawn up on 27 February of that year.[60] As part of Tommaso's payment for these sculptures, he was to receive membership into the society of St. Peter or of St. Paul when an opening became available.[61] If he died before being inducted as a member of either of these communities, the privilege was then to be passed to his nephew, Giovanbattista.[62] In addition to this elevation of his social standing, Tommaso was also known to have been paid 1000 scudi for this set of portraits.[63] It is clear that this modern set of portraits of the twelve Caesars was very important to the patron.

Vasari, in the 1568 edition of his *Vite*, mentions another set by Tommaso made for Pope Julius III.[64] He praised Tommaso's ability to imitate the style of the ancients in his execution of such works and mentioned that he himself owned a sculpture by this artist which he displayed at his house in Arezzo.[65] He commented further that this work is often mistaken as being antique and praises

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[58]Harprath, "Ippolito Andreasi", 18-19, believes that the frescoed scenes are the work of Guilio Romano (they are mentioned as being such in Vasari, *Vite*, vol. 5, 545) and represent scenes from the lives of the Ceasars as taken from biographical accounts in Suetonious and the Annals of Tacitus.
[59]The artist is described as being of Milanese origin in Vasari, *Vite*, vol. 7, 550.
[60]Lanciani, *Storia*, vol. 2, 164.
[61]Ibid.
[62]Ibid.
[63]Brown, "Archaeological Advisor", 50. In a letter from the Archivio di Stato di Mantova (henceforth ASMN), Busta 908, from Garimberto to Gonzaga, published here, Garimberto states, "i detti XII Iperatori antichi, che non sono costi i XII moderni al Cardinal Farnese".
[64]See note 56.
[65]Vasari, *Vite*, vol. 7, 550.

such skill in an artist.[66] This set was probably that referred to in a letter from Garimberto to Cesare Gonzaga which stated that the artist was working on installing such works at the Belvedere palace.[67]

On 3 October 1572 in a letter from Teodoro di San Giorgio to Aurelio Zibramonte, Garimberto's search for antique heads of the twelve Caesars, to be displayed in Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga's new Galleria degli Mesi, is discussed.[68] The letter opens saying,

> È statto (*sic*) caro al Signor mio Eccellentissimo l'intendere che Monsignore Garimberti spera di ritrovare le teste de li Imperatori et aspetta con desiderio di sapere che cosa ne sarà seguito et il prezzo, ma ricorda ch'egli ha un Augusto belissimo (*sic*), sì che non bisogna salvo che degl'altri (*sic*) undici.[69]

Following this statement, Teodoro later comments on the difficulty of acquiring an antique set of heads of the twelve Caesars and the near impossibility of finding such objects of an equal or even comparable size.[70] The following day Gerolamo Garimberto wrote to Guglielmo Gonzaga to report on his own findings.[71] He, like Teodoro, notes the difficulty of finding antique heads of the twelve Caesars as a set, and goes on to state that they may have to be purchased

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[66]Ibid.

[67]Brown, *Our Accustomed Discourse*, 100, document 73, a letter from Garimberto to Gonzaga dated 30 December 1564. Here Garimberto says, "Tuttavia tengo solicitato quel pezzo d'asino di Maino, perché dia fine alla tavola di porfido et hora, che saranno passate le feste et che ha spedito i suoi imperatori colossacci in Belvedere, non havrà più scusa alcuna, maggiormente havendogli io trovato il verde per far l'ornamento alla detta tavola." Here, Gariberto is expressing his efforts to get Tommaso to complete his work on a green marble table for Cesare.

[68]Brown, "Archaeological Advisor", 50, Document 7. Brown publishes this letter found in ASMN, Busta 2588.

[69]Ibid., "It is dear to your Excellency the intention that Garimberto hopes to find the heads of the Emperors and waits with the desire of hearing of these and their price, but mentions that of these he has a beautiful Augustus, of course which is not needed with the other eleven."

[70]Ibid., "Sua eccellenza ha poi fatto vedere all' architetto il discorso che Monsignore sodetto ha mandatto il qualle ha risposto ch'egli ha sentito queste difficoltà, ma pensò anco da principio a rimedio nel modo che siegue (*sic*). Et primeramente, quanto al poter trovar le teste degli Imperatori, antiche et d'una ugual grandezza, giudicò sempre il primo difficile et l'altro impossibile et perciò fu schritto ultimamente che, non trovandosi questa serie poi che Sua Eccellenza è rissulta di voler cosa alcuna moderna si sarebbono potute prendere altro teste antiche purchè (*sic*) fossero statte belle."

[71]Ibid., 50, document 8. Form ASMN, Busta 908.

individually in order to achieve this ambition.[72] He sings the praises of the antiquarian, Stampa, who he says has been searching, on his behalf, for such objects in Rome and then goes on to report his other findings and purchases.[73]

Guglielmo's addition to the Loggia dei Marmi maintained and extended Romano's pre-existing surface decoration and organisation. His alterations made the new environment approximately half again larger than it had been previously. The same collection of drawings by Ippolito Andreasi, which record Titian's paintings for the Gabinetto degli Cesari, also contain his interior elevations of the Loggia dei Marmi.[74] In these, the earlier arrangement of round niches, statue niches and decorative supports which project away from the wall surfaces, is articulated (figs. 34-37). In these drawings the two long opposing north and south walls are composed of a series of three arches which are then divided into areas of a square surmounted by a half circle. This composition is due to a string course of decorative moulding running continuously around the room. The arches are all separated by a pilaster of equal height and all these areas of organised surface composition rest on an elevated base, physically separating them from the floor plane of the Loggia. The space is then covered by a barrel vault which enables the enclosing side walls to repeat the pattern of arches, one on each end of the gallery. However, the base used to elevate the surface decoration on these shorter, enclosing walls is ignored allowing the pilasters and decorated surfaces to meet the floor plane.

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[72]Ibid., "Dopo l'ultima lettera c'ho ricevuto dall'Eccellenza Vostra in materia d'antiquità, mi sono chiarito che si può superare ancora l'impossibilità, essend'io concorso sempre per innanzi con questi antiquarii di Roma, che a un certo modo non fosse possibile accozzare insieme i XII Imperatori antichi et vendibili."

[73]Ibid.

[74]Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, F.P. 10904, 10880, 10925, 10879 and 10875. These drawings are published and discussed by Harprath in "Ippolito Andreasi", 16., figs. 54-58. The drawings of the enclosing walls and not the ceiling are also published in Brown, "Archaeological Advisor", 37, figs. 9-11.

Guglielmo Gonzaga's enlargement of the Loggia to form the Galleria degli Mesi extended its longer walls by adding another three arched surface areas (figs. 38). In between these old and new surfaces a narrow section of wall, also bordered by pilasters, was added as well. This area had a rectangular recess at the same level as the statue niches and a circular niche was above this. Its purpose was to complement the two arched areas on either end of the Gallery which contained the entry portals and thus balance the composition of these north and south walls. As a result, the defined surface areas with either a door or a rectangular recess alternated with those which contained a statue niche. The gallery, having retained the width established by Romano in his earlier design, now hinted at being more of a corridor than a *gabinetto*.

On the long windowed southern wall and on its interior facing counterpart, each pilaster was adorned with a projected decorative base for the display of a head or bust. The function of these for sculptural display is understood from Andreasi's interior elevations of Loggia dei Marmi (figs. 34 and 35). In the newly extended gallery there would have been twelve of these projected surfaces. It is possible to assume that they were what Guglielmo Gonzaga and Garimberto were attempting to occupy with the portrait busts of the twelve Caesars so adamantly sought after in Rome. However, in a letter of 8 August 1573, Garimberto mentions the acquisition of twenty-two heads of the Caesars for Guglielmo's collection.[75] Thus, the original idea for twelve had been abandoned.

With twenty-two such objects the display principles for the Galleria degli Mesi must have changed to accommodate this increased number of sculptures. There were certainly too few settings for portrait busts built along and set into the wall surfaces of this space for all these works to now be displayed. As a result, sculptures would either have been edited out or set on tables, columns or

[75]Ibid., 52. A letter from Garimberto to Gonzaga, ASMN, Busta 909.

quadrangular bases inside this space. For this reason and others, the Galleria degli Mesi must not have been something Cardinal de' Medici wanted directly to emulate with his highly organised plans for the selection of sculptures to be displayed in Villa Medici statue gallery as they appeared in Zucchi's elevation fragments.

Ferdinando's plans for the surface organisation and decorative details proposed for his gallery have similar characteristics to those employed in the Galleria degli Mesi, but do not specifically replicate any forms. The wall surfaces of the Villa Medici were, by comparison, organised in such a way as to severely restrict the amount of wall space remaining between each window or door and statue or circular niche. In this gallery, the emphasis was on the sculpture display and thus more settings for such works were provided on its walls. Even in its enlargement, the Galleria degli Mesi had only four statue niches on its north wall and two on each the east and west. In total, around the room there were only eleven circular niches of varying size to contain a further selection of heads or busts in addition to the twelve projected surfaces mentioned earlier. Much of the wall surfaces in the Galleria degli Mesi was, thus, available for stucco and painted decoration. In Zucchi's drawings the only decorative painting or stucco-work planned for the gallery were the grotesques shown on two of the pilasters and the paired putti or sphinxes on either side of each circular niche. The contrast suggests that this type of decoration was not of foremost importance in the overall design and layout of Ferdinando's gallery.

The painted grotesques which Zucchi illustrated on two pilasters in one of his drawing fragments were not as light or dominated by foliage as those designed by Romano for Federico Gonzaga's Loggia and copied later in the expanded Galleria (figs. 23 and 34). Instead, Zucchi's variety of figures, animals and foliage had more abstract and playful qualities and resembled more closely those

made by Pinturicchio for the chapel of St. Jerome in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (fig. 39). Pinturicchio's images were also employed to decorate long narrow vertical wall surface areas, as Zucchi's were to be used to decorate pilasters. The proposed grotesques for the Villa Medici statue gallery, again, like Pinturicchio's, use a similar vocabulary of identifiable animal and human forms with other still-life objects interspersed among suggestions of foliage shapes. The more abstracted forms are similarly employed to help guide the eye from one subject to the next up and down this surface. In addition, the use of simple bold forms in Zucchi's and Pinturicchio's grotesques are less cluttered than Romano's in Federico's Loggia.

Jacopo Zucchi's own beliefs regarding the design and use of frescoed grotesques are discussed in a treatise about decorative subjects which he published in 1602.[76] This text was a written accompaniment to his painted decorations in Orazio Rucellai's gallery at his Roman palace. Zucchi was employed here during the 1580's at the request of Ferdinando from whom he was receiving a salary.[77] Rucellai was one of the Cardinal's many friends to whom this painter was lent.[78] Rucellai clearly could not afford to employ a vast and highly specified programme of classical antique sculptures to decorate this exhibition space, and thus employed Zucchi to decorate his gallery with evocative illusionistic paintings of a collection to which he could only aspire.[79]

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[76]Jacopo Zucchi, *Discorso sopra li Dei de' Gentili, e loro imperse*, Rome, 1602, published by F. Saxl in *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance*, (Berlin: 1927), 51-52. (still to include Zucchi statement) These comments were also published by Nicole Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des Grotesques a la Renaissance*, (London: 1969), 134-135.

[77]Edmund Pillsbury, *Life and Works*, vol. 1, 26. Here Pillsbury mentions that in 1575 Zucchi had threatened to leave the Cardinal's employment "for lack of funds to support his family", and published the letter stating this (still to get this reference) in Document 327.

[78]Ibid.

[79]For an overall idea of subject see F. Saxl, *Antike Götter in der Spätrenaissance*, Studies of the Warburg Insititue, (Leipzig and Berlin: 1927).

In this gallery many of the ideas employed in Zucchi's elevations for the Villa Medici statue gallery interior were used. However, in the Rucellai space these specific programatic notions were primarily part of the ceiling decoration, on which was painted a labelled collection of figures representing a catalogue of Roman mythological deities. Below these were twelve evenly spaced projected supports which held a modern set of portrait busts of the twelve Caesars. It is quite clear through this program of surface decoration that, even though the Villa Medici statue gallery may not have been completed to such a finalised and idealistic standard as was proposed by Jacopo Zucchi, its decorative ideas became accessible in Rucellai's gallery and Zucchi's treatise.

It would have been very easy for Zucchi to adapt the grotesque forms he used in the Villa Medici statue gallery elevation fragments to be more like those made by Giovanni da Udine to decorate the pilasters at the Villa Madama which were clearly an influence on Romano's decorations in the Galleria degli Mesi. As Giulio Romano was working alongside Udine at the Villa Madama he was certainly familiar with these specific forms. Zucchi's clear deviation away from these, reveals that Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici did not wish to associate himself, through the design and decoration of this gallery with that of the contemporary collector, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga or that used to decorate the palace of one of his ancestors.

The putti which are seen paired, one on either side of some circular niches on a few fragments of Zucchi's elevations, are somewhat similar to the larger winged figures placed in the spandrels created by the arches on the north and south walls of the Galleria degli Mesi (fig. 34). These foreshortened bodies may have been an influence on those used in the Villa Medici space, but this was not to be followed up throughout the entire space as Zucchi also employs sphinxes in identical situations.

The final program of decoration for the Villa Medici statue gallery was very different from the ambitious expectations shown in Zucchi's elevation drawings for the design and decoration of the space. The consistent alternation between an opening into the wall surface and a statue niche was eventually employed, as is seen in Fonatana's later plan of the gallery (fig. 32). As the space exists today the circular niches over each window and door appear as well as the pilasters set between these and each statue niche (fig. 40). Aside from these organisational elements there is no evidence to suggest that any of the other details of surface decoration were ever carried out. It is only likely that the pilasters would have had similar capitals to those seen in Zucchi's images, as these remain today in the loggia of the casino, but little else exists in terms of Zucchi's proposed decorative details (fig. 41).

In the 1598 inventory of the Villa Medici statue gallery the exhibited works within the space included three fauns, three statues of Venus, three of Bacchus, five of Apollo, two of wrestlers, one Antinous, Adonis, Mercury, Costantine, Marcus Aurelius, Hercules, Octavian, Trajan, Marsyas, Silenus and Mars; in total twenty-seven statues are listed. Accompanying these figures were twenty-five heads which were recorded without specific identifications. At various other times additional or alternative works must also have been on exhibition here. In Cavalieri's 1594 publication, documenting a selection of notable antique sculptures in Roman collections, it was recorded that some of the figures of the Niobe group, purchased by Ferdinando in 1584, were also displayed in this space.[80] They must have been moved to their situation in the garden later as was first visually recorded by Domenico Buti in his 1602 engraving of the villa.[81]

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[80]See Erna Mandowsky, "Some notes on the Early History of the Medician 'Niobides'", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 41 (1953): 251-264 for the purchase. G.B. Cavalieri, *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae, Quartus Liber*, 1594, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17and 19, for the mention of various pieces in the Niobe Group nted as being on display in the palace.

[81]See chapter 5 for a complete discussion of this group, the dates and display of these works.

garden later as was first visually recorded by Domenico Buti in his 1602 engraving of the villa.[81]

From 1579 Cardinal de' Medici was negotiating with Valerio della Valle for the purchase of the della Valle/Capranica collection of antique sculpture.[82] After much negotiation the statues were acquired by the Cardinal and arrived at this villa in 1584. In the inventory of these works made the same year, it is evident that Ferdinando de' Medici would now have a diverse selection of antique sculpture to use to decorate his new gallery space.[83] It may have been this purchase which caused Ferdinando to change his plans for an antiquarium and construct a statue gallery instead, but the specific decorative and organisational details illustrated in Zucchi's frescoes reveal a different ambition that was never realised, even after he acquired this collection.

An attempt at reconstructing how the sculptures of the Della Valle/Capranica collection fit into Zucchi's plans is almost impossible with the vague descriptions of each work in the 1584 inventory. Many of the reliefs, and possibly the statues as well, were also incorporated into the decoration of the garden facade of the villa casino. It is likely that the decision by the Cardinal to decorate this exterior surface was a direct result of the purchase of the della Valle/Capranica collection, as the organisation and deployment of these works was arranged in such a specific manner to incorporate the majority of reliefs in this collection. Further, it would encourage the assumption that the gallery would have succumbed to the same display principles of site-specific accommodation for this given group of antique sculptures.

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[81]See chapter 5 for a complete discussion of this group, the dates and display of these works.
[82]Nine letters recording these negotiations (two are duplicate) can be found in ASF Miscellanea Medicea 316, Ins. 5.
[83]See Gotti, *Gallerie di Firenze*, (Florence: 1872), 305-315.

Ferdinando's original plan to construct an antiquarium was a direct response to architectural advice. In order to block the breeze mentioned in Ammannati's letter Ferdinando had to extend his palace in some way. By originally planning to do this with an antiquarium, Ferdinando's early ideas for a collective display space derived from the same type of structure built in Federico Cesi's palace garden. Aside from this replication of an idea, the Cardinal was not intending to refine its form or its relationship to a corresponding palace or casino in the same way as Cesi's small building accommodated established ideas about the relationship between a residential structure and a garden pavilion. Instead, Ferdinando only borrowed the concept of a separate, purpose-built collective display environment and adapted its design to relate to that of his casino, with which it had a more immediate visual connection.

The association of Giulio Cesarini's statuarium to the *diaetam* described by the Younger Pliny in his description of his villa at Laurentinum was an adequate justification for creating a separate and isolated collective display space for antique sculpture. Federico Cesi refined this notion with the design of his antiquarium. The specific architectural association of Cesi's building to the design of ancient Roman temples, as it was understood through Alberti's writing, was an expansion of the idea for a separate collective display space adding a further sense of its appropriateness for this purpose. The collective display idea had also been developed in the design of the statue court of the Vatican Belvedere, but with its literal association to the Garden of Hesperides it expanded this same idea of justifying its design and existence, instead, with a mythologically related set of historical priciples.

Ferdinando probably did not fully understand some of these more detailed sets iconographic or design ideals. He may never have questioned why Cesi's antiquarium was shaped as it was, or even may have chosen to ignore this, by

now, dated set of symbolic associations. His purpose was to prevent an unhealthy breeze from crossing his new property. The change from the Cardinal's design for an antiquarium to that of a statue gallery may lie in the fact that even Ammannati himself stated that this extension would be a part of the casino architecture.

The situation of the Medici antiquarium in Zucchi's fresco easily lends itself to being attached to the villa casino, and the idea for a statue gallery was probably then suggested as the architectural design of this residential structure was being refined. In order to see how it might take form, the earliest plans to include the gallery as a single story extension of the casino must have been requested by the Cardinal. As the interior surface organisation would also be considered in order to offer a more complete impression of both the interior and exterior appearance, Jacopo Zucchi's elevation drawings would probably also have been put forward at this time.

By changing his plans for an antiquarium to a statue gallery, other existing gallery designs were considered for both their artistic and architectural possibilities. The ideas embodied within these other spaces were clearly studied in terms of the surface organisation, decoration and selection of contents, components which were all reflected in the elevation proposals for Cardinal de' Medici's new display space. The size and shape of the Villa Medici gallery was of lesser importance as these factors were dictated by its physical function and site restrictions. The Villa Medici statue gallery was unable to have the same situation as the galleries in Northern Italian palaces, but Ferdinando adapted their design, display and decorative ideas to suit his needs.

The gallery which immediately pre-dated that of the Villa Medici, the Galleria degli Mesi in Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga's palace at Mantua, was not to be such

rather than formulating a more formal association with the Gonzaga gallery, turned his attention to methods of display in Rome which included the della Valle statue court and the facade of the Palazzo Spada.

The patronage ideals for making the statue gallery a hall of the Gods and Caesars was something that Ferdinando knew would be difficult to accomplish with only antique sculptures. It was quite clear from the correspondence between the antiquities dealer Gerolamo Garimberto and Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga that even acquiring antique heads of the twelve Caesars was challenging. This kind of systematic decoration could only be realised by a painted program, like that employed by Zucchi in the gallery of Orazio Rucellai's palace. Ferdinando abandoned this early program and then turned to the display ideals of the della Valle statue court which accommodated a wide variety and range of subjects in antique sculptures which related only in terms of their size. In this statue court a large number of antique works were accommodated in a small display setting due to their close proximity to one another on enclosing walls.

A specific architectural or design association with antiquity does not exist in Cardinal de' Medici's statue gallery. It is a room in a villa casino which corresponds to the others like it. All references to Rome's ancient past are embodied in the sculptural works themselves and in the subtle use of ancient grotesques which had been previously adapted from antique originals by the painters Giovanni da Udine and Pinturicchio. Ferdinando's setting was a modern environment in the sixteenth century and as he was merely attempting to create a necessary barrier to an unfortunate breeze off the sea, he established a display setting which was appropriate to his own personal ambitions as a patron of classical antique sculpture.

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CHAPTER III

The Villa Medici Garden Herms

In Jacopo Zucchi's fresco of the garden at the Villa Medici in Rome, painted onto the walls of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's *scrittoio*, a detail of sculptural display is highlighted with crisp white paint giving rough outlines of several simple figural forms (fig. 2). These are all strategically situated at regular intervals within a highly organised garden landscape. Each sculpture is composed of a small circle placed on a rectangular shaft which tapers toward the ground. It is clear from these renderings that Zucchi's simple strokes of paint are meant to represent the figures of herms. These objects stand out against the larger painted green expanse of the surrounding garden landscape due to their comparatively small size. Each herm is alike in its appearance and situation, giving no one any greater physical emphasis to another, while the total number of fifty-two makes it clear that collectively these works constituted a substantial contribution to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's overall classical antique sculpture collection.

By the time Ferdinando purchased the Villa Medici, herms were already an established decorative tradition in Roman villa garden design, but the first written record of their use did not occur until Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Delle statue* publication of 1556. Aldrovandi mentions herms in the households of the Cesi, Carpi, Farnese, Metello, Ponti, Jacovacci and Magarozzi families.[1] In addition to this limited information, the transfer of herms from Tiburtine excavations of the Villas of Germanicus, Hadrian and Cassias to sites such as the Villa Giulia, Vigna Carpi and Villa Farnesina was later recorded in greater detail by Pirro

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[1]Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono*, in Lucio Mauro, *L' antichità della città di Roma*, (Venice: 1556), 123, 154, 184, 195, 201, 250, 282, 296, 297, 298, 306.

Ligorio in his manuscript catalogue of the biographies and portraits of ancient Greek scholars, now in Turin.[2]

In the sketchbooks and publications of other fifteenth and sixteenth-century epigraphers and antiquarians further visual recordings and brief written locations of herms were also made available. This documentation includes the written records of Fra Giocondo and his contemporaries made at the end of the fifteenth century, the mid-sixteenth century Berlin sketchbook, and later Antwerp publications of Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, the Paris and Stockholm sketchbooks of Jean-Jacques Boissard, which also date from the mid-sixteenth century, as well as the publications of Achilles Statius and Fulvio Orsini of 1569 and 1570 respectively.[3]

Jacopo Zucchi's fresco of the Villa Medici garden, made during the Cardinal's first year of ownership of the property, includes many details for the alteration of the casino and garden. Though these views are mainly visionary expressions, articulated before the logistics of implementing the proposed designs had been entirely thought out, many of the features illustrated in these frescoes were eventually realised with some refinements, and, in this respect, the use of herms was no exception.

By including such a tiny decorative detail in a very early proposal it is clear that Cardinal de' Medici considered this feature to be of foremost importance for his

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[2]*Libro di M.Pyrrho Ligorio napoletano, delle antichità di Roma*, Turin, Archivio di Stato (henceforth AST) Ms 23.

[3]For an outline of Fra Giocondo's works see Michael Koortbojian, "Fra Giovanni Giocondo and his Epigraphic Methods: Notes on Biblioteca Marciana, Ms Lat. 14, 171", *Kölner Jahrbuch* 26 (1993): 49-55. Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, *Themis Dea*, (Antwerp: 1568) and *Herculis prodicius, sev principis inventatis vita et peregrinato*, (Antwerp: 1587). Jean-Jacques Boissard, Codex Sangermanensis, Paris, Bibliothèque National, Ms 12.509, and Codex Holmiensis, Stockholm, Royal Library, Ms U90, vol. S68. Achilles Statius, *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, (Rome: 1569). Fulvio Orsini, *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium*, (Rome: 1570).

garden. Why herms were so crucial remains an important question. Their significance is traditionally understood to be either as decorative objects or historical artifacts and not as a combination of these classifications. Surviving written and visual documentation sometimes encourages this distinction by visually detaching herms from their display settings in order to discuss the works as a selection of important fragments from ancient Greek and Roman history. The focus is thus on either their epigraphic inscriptions, portrait representations and/or corresponding personal biographies. These historical considerations are rarely complemented by details of their sixteenth-century display environments, beyond occasional identifications of particular site locations for certain popular works.

Herms were a type of antique sculpture display which was quite unlike statuary or portrait busts. Though their overall size was similar in height to life-size figural sculpture, their physical composition as a portrait head placed on a simple quadrangular shaft limited the function of the shaft to providing merely a base for the portrait. Due to the nature of this design, herms were thus not exhibited in architectural environments designed to highlight the individual or collective importance, but instead usually helped to define hedged boundaries within the confines of a highly organised garden landscape. As a result of this use, herms were only accorded individual importance as historical objects and not as aesthetic materpieces.

A similar use of herms to that proposed for the Villa Medici occurred in the Cesi palace garden in the Vatican Borgo. In a 1577 map of Rome by Étienne Dupérac a detail of the Cesi property reveals that sixteen of the twenty-two herms recorded by Aldrovandi were used to mark the corners of hedged parterres (fig.

42).[4] Unlike the similar situation of herms in Zucchi's fresco, these objects are used in conjunction with very low hedging. As a result, their forms had a greater visual emphasis within the more formal area of this garden. Thus, like other sculptures included in Dupérac's image, these herms can be interpreted as being another variable form of antiquities display where all sculpture takes precedence over and distinguishes itself from landscape detail.[5]

By the time that herms were being considered for use in the Villa Medici garden, their importance as one facet of an antiquities collection must have changed from being part of a comprehensive decorative visual effect placed within a garden landscape to becoming a functional component of planting organisation. The box hedging in which they would be set at Cardinal de' Medici's new villa, as outlined in Zucchi's frescoed proposal, was now of a similar height to the herm figures themselves and thus the herms would be obscured by the vegetation and no longer visible as a collective unit. As a result of this alteration in the use of herms, they were now to be understood as a series of objects only encountered in isolation or small groups, and not as a separate and distinctive feature of an overall classical antique sculpture collection.

For a visitor who was unfamiliar with the site and these images, only once the garden had been explored would the large collection of herms be understood both in general and greater detail. As the visitor walked through the garden, along the formally gridded program of intersecting paths, herms would be encountered as single isolated figures or as groupings of two, four or eight, where herms were placed at the corners of enclosed hedging, at circulation crossings or to decorate a circular clearing. Now, it was only in drawings and

[4]Aldrovandi, *Delle statue*, 123, "fra le quale sono XXII termini antichi, che sono teste con lunghe e quadre basi."
[5]In Aldrovandi's account of the Vigna Carpi on the Monte Cavallo he lists Herms as alternating with statuary to decorate various numbered "luogi" in a single section of the garden. Aldrovandi, *Delle statue*, 296, 297 and 298.

sketches of the Villa Medici that the collection of herms could be viewed as a whole.

Due to a lack of surviving written documentation regarding the specific arrangement of herms in the Villa Medici garden, it is impossible to determine which groupings of figures were selected to be displayed together and whether any correspondence between specific Greek or Roman historical or mythological personalities, traditionally represented in herm form, was intended. The very idea of this selection process lends itself to possible iconographic subtleties which would, in most instances, only be understood by educated visitors. However, as so little attention was given to documenting the identities of herms on display at the Villa Medici within the historical records of the site, it is unlikely that this type of conceptual understanding was ever considered. Perhaps this type of iconographic organisation was ignored because only scholars of such objects were concerned with understanding the biographical and symbolic profiles of one ancient personality to another as recorded in surviving classical texts.

Why herms had become a seemingly secondary form of classical antique sculptural decoration is an immediate question to any scholar wishing to understand the Villa Medici antiquities collection and its display. It is certainly the most ambiguous category of decoration found at the Villa Medici as the herms were not mentioned specifically in the surviving written accounts of the Villa and its contents. The majority of the herms used in this garden were, in fact, completely undocumented in terms of their patronage, their arrival, and their historical significance. Where they came from, who they represent, and why they were important enough to be included in the earliest proposals for the decoration of this site are fundamental questions which must be addressed. Only then will the significance of these works within the Villa Medici antiquities

collection as a whole, as well as within the larger context of their role in the development of Roman villa garden design and decoration of the sixteenth century, be clearly understood.

The patronage and use of antique herms in Villa garden design was essentially a Roman phenomenon. Rarely were such objects used in villa landscapes outside this city and its environs. Contemporary Renaissance herms were sometimes used outside Rome as decorative landscape ornaments, but their significance was relative to the purpose of an individual landscape setting, rather than conforming to a prescribed functional program as was the case in Roman gardens during the second half of the sixteenth century.

In 1599, herms were depicted by Giusto Utens in his painted illustration of the Medici garden at Pratolino (fig. 43). In this painting, the herms are initially shown as a scattering of objects near a playful water chain which cascaded down a series of small pools in a variety of patterns and shapes, running the length of the garden, and eventually feeding into an oblong basin situated on a lower ground plane. Here, the herms had no particular structural function. They were not employed with controlled vegetation to help with any landscape organisation, but instead, stand at random distances to one another, providing a visual terminus to some garden paths or placed to mark crossings in the surrounding *bosco*. As a result, some are hidden in the *bosco* itself, and others are situated in the open grassy areas around the water chain. As a distinctive sculptural detail, they must have aided in establishing a sense of decorative playfulness for the ambling water chain while contradicting its sense of movement with the physical restraint of having their upper bodies supported by a quadrangular pillar instead of legs.

The composition of herms as a quadrangular shaft, sometimes adorned with male genitalia, surmounted by a portrait head or bust is significant, herms are not as diversely expressive as a figural sculpture whose pose or stance reveals as much about an inner thought or physical situation as its facial expression. In terms of its use in ancient Greece, the herm form was often employed in representations of Priapus, the god of fertility. These herms were often constructed from wood and thus the status of such representations was much lower than deities represented as full figural stone carvings.[6]

The discovery of numerous stone herms at sites such as Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, however, appropriated the herm form for decorative use in such sixteenth-century settings. In addition to this, images of relief sculpture which had survived in sixteenth-century Roman antiquities collections had become well known through sketchbook illustrations and historical manuscripts. By the time Ferdinando purchased his villa, numerous descriptions and illustrations of herm use in both ancient Greece and Rome was being widely circulated, and this information certainly offered an opportunity for collectors such as Ferdinando to personally assess the meaning and importance of these forms individually, as a stylistic unit and as part of an extensive and varied antique sculpture collection.

In his *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi* of 1556, Vincenzo Cartari discusses the representation of Mercury (the Greek Hermes) in his herm form stating that this deity often appeared as such in ancient Greece.[7] He goes on to highlight that the purpose of such Herms was as commemorative monuments to military leaders who were deserving of honour and says that they

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[6]Peter Stewart, "Fine Art and Coarse Art: the Image of Roman Priapus," *Art History* 20 (1997): 575.

[7]Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi*, (Venice: 1556), 327. "I Greci facevano spesso la statoa (*sic*) di Mercurio in forma quadra col capo solo senza alcun' altro membro."

were set up in either public environments or a private household.[8] Cartari takes this information from ancient writers such as Cicero who, he says, describes herms as also being displayed in academies of learning.[9] Thus it appears that these images of Mercury were understood as being both an appropriate means to honour a private citizen, pay homage to a god and/or provide academic inspiration to students and scholars, perhaps linking the idea of fertility with knowledge.[10]

Unlike the earlier scholars Lilio Gregorio Giraldi and Natale Conti, who had published earlier mythological genealogies which had a direct influence on Cartari's own text, the later scholar had advanced this type of genealogical publication by including images to accompany his descriptions.[11] There are several visual representations of Mercury as a herm. These illustrate a comparison between the wide variety of representations of this deity and the attributes typically associated with each form (fig. 44 and 45). However, the most interesting is an engraving of three herm figures clustered around an elevated altar fire (fig. 46). These herms, as with the Mercury figures in the other representations, appear to be engaged in verbal communication with one another, perhaps suggesting that knowledge can become especially fertile through the verbal exchange of ideas. The herm on the left, separated from the others by the location of the altar, is represented with an erect phallus. This directly contrasts with the flacidity of his two companions and, with the fire as

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[8]Ibid. "E con simili statoe (*sic*) honoravano spesso gli grandi, e valorosi capitani mettendole in publico, e ne mettevano anco molte divanzi alle private case."
[9]Ibid. "Onde Cicerone rispondendo ad Attico chiama Herme ornamento comune à tutte le Academie."
[10]Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 1, 4, trans. E.O. Winstedt, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1993), 13. Here Cicero states, "No classroom is complete without a Hermes."
[11]Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia in qua simul de eorum imaginibus et cognominibus agitur*, (Basel: 1548). Natale Conti, *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum libri* X, (Venice: 1551). For an analysis of the relatioship between these an other such texts see Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, (Princeton: 1981), 277-278.

an immediate backdrop behind him, not only suggests a difference between himself and his companions, but also pays homage to the fact that representations of Priapi were generally understood to have been made of wood and thus, like text on paper or the intellectual himself, ultimately perishable.

All the herms in this illustration conform to the same general physical prototype discussed above. By including a distinctive detail in the genitalia of one figure another dynamic, in addition to the quality of the fire, has been added in order to enhance the differences between each individual form. The representation of the phallus in Cartari's illustration of the three Mercurial herms surrounding a fire reads clearly as a symbolic gesture of expression which, combined with the differences in the height of each herm figure, also implies a hierarchy between such characteristically similar forms.

Among the illustrations in the French epigrapher Jean-Jacques Boissard's Paris manuscript, two drawings of relief fragments are accompanied by inscribed text (figs. 47 and 48).[12] Both of these represent Priapi surrounded by either worshipers, sacrificial offerings, sacrificial knives, the fruits of harvest or the scythes used for reaping grain. Each image includes a different selection of attributes. The central herm appears decorated with draped swags of fabric and other similar festive ornamentation making it quite clear that these relief images represent either a personal or a public votive offering to this god of fertility. Each Priapus is represented with an erect phallus, a detail which suggests the deity's association with the fertility of soil. Clearly, epigraphers in the sixteenth century understood the ancients' connection between the herm and farming, as well as with learning.

[12]Boissard, Paris, 12.509, fols. 645 and 678 and Stockholm S 68, 25.

Aside from the aforementioned images of herms as representing either the Roman Mercury, the Greek Hermes or the Greek Priapus, sixteenth-century scholars had to take into account another set of image criteria. In Pirro Ligorio's title to his Turin XXIII manuscript he states that this text is a study of "ANTICHI HEROI, ET HUOMINI ILLVSTRI, DI PHILOSOFI, D' ORATORI, DE POETI, DI HISTORICI, DE GEOGRAPHI, ET DELLI GRAN' CAPITANI, ET DELI PRIMI INVENTORI DELL' ARTI."[13] This catalogue specifically deals with representations of these individuals in their herm forms. Their biographies were usually accompanied by an identification of where each illustrated figure was discovered and there is also a regular, but inconsistent, mention of the collections in which these or other similar forms were located at the time the manuscript was written.

In his introductory comments Ligorio both replicates and expands on the descriptions and understandings of ancient methods of herm display discussed by Cartari.[14] In his text, Ligorio offers several sugestions as to why herms were adapted to represent historical figures. He also provides an overall picture of the variety of environments in which herms would normally have been displayed and also comments on the general purpose of these sculptures.

Ligorio states that in antiquity herms could be found in temples and their public piazzas, oratoria, in the vestibules of houses and in palaces, among other environments.[15] He goes on to say that herm figures were traditionally placed on either side of an entrance and that their effigies were designed to evoke personal reflections about the military or intellectual achievements of their illustrious

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[13]Ligorio, Turin 23, Intoductory text.
[14]Ibid.
[15]Ibid. "La onde le locavano nel i luogi più veduta. Nelli Tempi, nelle piazze di essi, nei Delubri nelle celle, nell' Oratorij, nelli Vestbuli e prostij dele case, e nell' Aditi, nell' Atrij, e nelli canedij delli gran palazzi."

ancestors.[16] Ligorio further mentions that such representations of historically important individuals were sometimes also located in public environments such as circuses, stadiums or hippodromes as well as in theatres, libraries, amphitheatres and the porticoes of schools.[17] Ligorio believed that the purpose of herms was to immortalise an individual of great achievement while also acting as a form of memorial tribute.[18] These notions suggest that, in antiquity, historical herms were understood as a form of votive offering and establishes an interesting parallel with a creative practice typically employed in the worship of mythological deities.

Additional and important locations for herm figures, also highlighted by Ligorio, were their appearance as visual markers at the beginning, end or crossings of roadways.[19] For this occurrence, however, Ligorio also notes that such placement of herms was reserved for representations of Mercury or Hermes.[20] Without a specific acknowledgement, Ligorio indirectly reflects a popular mythological understanding of this deity as a protector of boundaries. By acknowledging this historical use, Ligorio unintentionally establishes a link with the display of herms already established as such in the gardens of the Cesi Palace where, as previously mentioned, herms were employed to mark the corners of hedged parterres.

The simple quadrangular form, which partially defines a figure as being a herm, lent itself well to the placement of these sculptures along the straight lines and

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[16]Ibid. "Per eso(?) che ciascuno nell' uscire dela sua porta , ò nell' entrare le vedessero , come per uno specchio e ricordo e per una memoria ricordevole."
[17]Ibid. "e oltre à questo locavano similmente nelli edificij chiamati Cerchi, o Stadij o Hippodromi ...nelle scene de Theatri, nelle Biblyotheche (sic), o librarie..."
[18]See note 14.
[19]Ibid. In the same listing as note 15 Ligorio also states that they were situated, "neli capi dele (sic) Vie."
[20]Ibid. Ligorio continues the statements in notes 15 and 17 with, "chiamato Hermes, detto cosi dall' ornamento principale, che havea (sic) Composto de tali (sic) Hermei, ritratti fatti informa d' Hermes, come è su detto."

perpendicular corners of intersecting roadways or garden paths. Their rigid and static composition was sometimes, in the late-sixteenth century, equated with caryatids, another structurally oriented sculptural form, different from herms in that they were complete figural representations occasionally used instead of columns in ancient Greek building design. In the first of his three-volume sketchbook dated from the end of the sixteenth century, Giovanbattista Montano illustrates these two sculptural prototypes under a single visual heading as renderings of both forms appear together on two of folio pages (figs. 49, 50 and 51). Montano linked the structural nature of both herms and caryatids by recognising that both these objects help to define space while providing a moment of figural sculptural decoration. This interpretation clearly establishes that, in the sixteenth century, patrons of herms, such as Ferdinando de' Medici, consciously decided to employ such figures as incidental sculptural decoration to mark both boundary and passage. But why did the well rooted mythological herm form become so widely adapted for the purpose of immortalising the appearance of Greek historical figures?

In Ligorio's same introductory text to his Turin XXIII manuscript he suggests that, for sculptural carvings of the historical figures mentioned in his title, the effigy itself is enough to reveal the identity of the character.[21] The inclusion of a phallus (if the herm is in fact representing a male) was probably carried over from earlier figures of Priapus, Mercury or Hermes. However, many excavated, surviving and contemporary Renaissance herm shafts in Rome did not include this physical detail. Was it considered unnecessary for the representation of historical intellectuals in a decorative context such as a villa garden landscape, even if, in antiquity, it appeared as part of herm portrait representations when this form was initially adapted from such representations of the Greek Hermes by the Romans?

[21]Ibid. "la effigie cosi si ricordava il suggestto (sic) dell' huomo e dela (sic) natura."

Historical herms, however, sometimes included inscriptions on their shafts which specifically identified the person represented by the portrait. This particular detail, only possible on a flat stone surface, must have contributed to the continued popularity of herm forms if, for their use in antiquity, it was iconographically essential specifically to identify the individuals represented by a Herm portrait. This epigraphic information may also have been understood as another means of creating a memorial, similar in character to ancient Greek archaic grave stele, appropriately honouring a person considered to be of historical importance. However, by the sixteenth century numerous herms employed as decoration were only composed of a plain quadrangular shaft and a portrait. As a result, many of these likenesses could not be clearly identified and their purpose could now only be as a decorative component to an organised villa garden landscape.[22]

From the end of the fifteenth century, antiquarians were recording the presence of historical herms at a site in Tivoli near Hadrian's Villa.[23] In 1550 these objects were rediscovered by the epigrapher Stephanus Vinandus Pighius. In his 1568 publication *Themis Dea* he records inscriptions carved on the headless quadrangular shafts which he found. At first he notes "Multae enim nomina sua pectori inscripta prae se ferunt, ut MILTIADIS, SOCRATIS, PLATONIS,

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[22]Giovanni Battista Montano, Sir John Soane's Museum, sketchbook 333, vol. 1. Montano clearly picks up on this idea as he only represents one Herm figure with an inscription, the Aristophanes. This was in the collection of Pope Julius III, but then passed into the possession of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici as indicated by Achilles Statius. Of all the Herms which were known to have been in Ferdinando de' Medici's collection at the Vigna Poggio, however, Montano only reproduces this one. As these drawings are dated from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, it is possible that this Herm was either removed to the Villa Medici or remained at the Vigna Poggio while the others recorded by Statius were moved, and was, as a result, physically isolated from the other four inscribed shafts discovered by Pighius at Hadrian's Villa.

[23]J. H. Jongkees, "Fulvio Orsini's Imagines and the prortrait of Aristotle", *Archeologia Traiectina*, (Groningen: 1960), 3. Here Jongkees gives a brief outline of the discoverey of Herm shafts found near Hadrian's Villa from their first recorded discovery by Fra Giocondo prior to 1488 and all subsequent recordings prior to that of Stephanus Pighius. In Pirro Ligorio Turin 23 these Herms are sometimes described as originating form different places, but mainly centered in the Tiburtine Villa of Germanicus.

THEOPHRASTI and P. VALERIJ POBLICOLAE, aliorumq."[24] Later he continues this list with, "THEMISTOCLIS, CIMONIS, ALCIBADIS, HERACLITI, ANDOCIDIS, ISOCRATIS, AESCHINIS, ARISTOTELIS, CARNEADIS, ARISTOGITONIS, & ARISTOPHANIS."[25]

After Pighius's rediscovery of these herm shafts, they were moved and became part of a variety of Roman antiquities collections. In his publication *Herculis Prodicius, sev principis inventatis vita et peregrinato* of 1587 he mentions that THEMISTOCLIS, MILTIADIS, ISOCRATES, HERACLITI, CARNEADIS, ARISTOGITONIS and others were moved from their original site in Tivoli by Pope Julius III to his Roman suburban Villa near the via Flaminia.[26] In the written and visual recordings of his scholarly successors, Pighius' other documented titles, unaccounted for in the Villa Giulia list, were eventually noted as being in the Roman collections of the Cesi, Carpi, del Bufalo and Maffei families.[27]

Herms were found throughout the sixteenth century at a variety of sites in and around the city of Rome. Collections of such objects were already established when the patronage and distribution of the shafts discovered near Hadrian's Villa began.[28] In Ligorio's Turin XXIII manuscript he records the specific locations at which his catalogued herms were discovered and occasionally gives the name of the patron who was then in possession of the object or another with a similar portrait. The location of specific herm figures or shafts was also recorded by

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[24]Pighius, *Themis Dea*, 96. This segement of text is also published in Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, (London: 1963), 127, document 2.
[25]Pighius, *Themis Dea*, 97. Mandowsky and Mitchell, 127, document 2.
[26]Pighius, *Herculis Prodicius*, 540. Like the other Pighius citings, this is published by Mandowsky and Mitchell, 127, document 3.
[27]Christian Hülsen, "Die Hermeninschriften berühmter Griechen und die ikonographischen Sammlungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 16 (1901): 123-208.
[28]As mentioned, Ulisse Adovrandi describes Herms as being part of the antique sculpture displays of the Cesi, Carpi, Farnese, Magarozzi, Matello, Ponti and Jacovacci households. See note 2.

other mid-sixteenth century artists and scholars such as Pighius, Boissard, Orsini and Statius. However, aside from the works noted as having been moved from the Vigna Carpi and Villa Giulia to decorate the Teatro Belvedere by Pope Pius IV, the purchase of herms on the antiquities market was rare.[29] Documentation about the patronage of Greek portraiture is much more common, and this suggests that complete herms were sold by those who excavated them directly to a patron. Later acquisitions of herms by a different patron must have been the result of their inclusion in the sale of a property which the herms had initially been used to decorate.

By the time Ferdinando de' Medici had purchased the Pincian Hill property, the historical study and active illustration of herms as sculptural entities in and of themselves by epigraphers and scholars of classical antique sculpture was no longer popular. From the respective 1569 and 1570 publications produced by Achilles Statius and Fulvio Orsini it is clear that some of the herms recorded by Pighius as having been moved to the Villa Giulia were now in the Cardinal's collection. However, this acknowledgement only records their display at the Vigna Poggio site which had once formed part of the Villa Giulia complex.[30] This property gifted to Ferdinando's father, then Duke Cosimo de' Medici, by Pope Pius IV in 1562 meant that Ferdinando must have come into possession of these works from his family's acquisition and as a result may not have felt it necessary to seek such objects in the Roman antiquities market himself.[31]

The first illustrated use of herms in the Villa Medici garden appeared in Étienne Dupérac's 1577 map of Rome (fig. 52). In this illustration the angle at which the

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[29]For the transfer of Herms to decorate the Teatro Belvedere, see Ligorio Turin 23 and Huelsen, 132-135.

[30]In Statius the Herms are recorded as being "In Hortis Cardinalis de Medicis prope Villam Julii III Pont. Max." In Orsini their ownership is noted with, "apud Ferdinand. Card. Medic."

[31]Ferdinand Boyer, "Les antiques du Cardinal Ferdinando de Médicis," *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 55/1 (1929): 202.

garden is seen corresponds with the viewpoint in Zucchi's *scrittoio* fresco. This coincidence makes for an interesting visual comparison. In Dupérac's rendering there is a clear indication that this cartographer was familiar with Cardinal de' Medici's new villa. Although he still identifies the property with the name of its previous owner, particular changes which had already been carried out under Cardinal de' Medici's patronage are illustrated.[32]

In Dupérac's illustration there is a realistic sense of the actual distance between the landscape features of the Villa Medici. The depiction of the way in which the Aurelian wall had been built into the localised topography suggests that Dupérac paid attention to small details. By using a vantage point from the direction of the garden, Dupérac was also able to include specific information to aid in categorising this palace and its surrounding landscape as a Roman suburban villa of a similar nature to those of other patrons also included in this map. A characteristic loggia appears along the garden façade of the casino, an ornamental fountain occupies the piazza immediately behind this structure as well as a variety of planting formations from an organised grid of box hedging to a grove of trees elevated on the ground plane above the retaining terrace.

When Dupérac's illustration of the Villa Medici garden is compared to the suggested changes painted by Zucchi in his *scrittoio* fresco, there are particular discrepancies in visual information which relate Zucchi's image, more than Dupérac's, to the eventual appearance of this villa garden. In 1602 and, later, in 1613 two similar engravings of the Villa Medici were produced by Domenico Buti and Giacomo Lauro respectively (figs. 3 and 53). These images were made specifically to illustrate the actual architectural design of the casino, the composition and organisation of its surrounding garden landscape and the

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[32]Glenn M. Andres, "The Villa Medici in Rome: the Projects of 1576," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorschen Institutes in Florenz* 19 (1975): 280, n. 8.

sculptural decoration employed on the exterior of the casino as well as throughout the garden. Both these images offer an insight as to how this villa appeared shortly after Cardinal de' Medici's departure from Rome in 1587.[33] What is included in the Buti and Lauro illustrations relates to most of the information illustrated in Zucchi's fresco while it specifically contrasts with the depiction by Dupérac in 1577.

In Zucchi's fresco, the landscape areas immediately behind and to the north of the casino consist of the same two basic types of planting configurations seen in the later Buti and Lauro engravings. These include an area of geometric planting compartments to accommodate a variety of flora and herbs and an area composed of a regularised grid of box hedged parterres. The paths between the eastern block of parterres are covered with trellises and those to the west are left open. The only difference between these engravings and Zucchi's fresco, in respect to this area of the garden, is that Zucchi shows the western grouping of hedged parterres with their paths covered with trellising as well and this was never realised.

In Dupérac's illustration this same area of formal planting is not broken down into the same two basic horticultural design compositions, but instead shows a rigid grid of small, more or less equally sized hedged parterres throughout. In order to accommodate the piazza immediately behind the casino, one parterre is completely omitted, making their total number fifteen. It is unlikely that Cardinal de' Medici would have imposed this type of planting formation on the entire area of his formal garden when his earliest proposals indicate that he had something similar but nonetheless different in mind by dividing this area of the

[33]Though these views do not specifically account for the accurate distances between and the proportions of some site details, the level of information which they provide in terms of their written account of the specific sculptures used to decorate the garden facade of the casino and the type of landscape features used to organise the garden is more substatntial than any other illustration made prior to this date.

garden into two separate zones of planting types and organisation. It was this combination of plantings that was eventually created to Zucchi's suggested specifications. However, Dupérac's image does raise questions as to the condition of the garden which Cardinal de' Medici acquired as part of Ricci's Villa.

Dupérac's rendering of the Villa Medici garden shows that the hedged parterres consisted of a square grid four rows deep and four wide. All the hedging is low, and the two rows which are farthest west have each corner marked with a single tree while those furthest east employ the figures of herms to occupy like situations. Though the hedging is slightly higher than that which appears in Dupérac's illustration of the Cesi property, it is still not shown to be as tall as the herms themselves, and their heads would all have been visible rising above the enclosing vegetation. As a result, this lower hedging suggests that these objects were to be clearly understood as a collective form of sculptural decoration which was part of the garden's structural composition, but not isolated and hidden within it. In Dupérac's illustration, herms remain a form of decorative landscape ornament which, with any other figural sculpture or decorative object, such as the piazza fountain, can be interpreted as working together to help define this landscape as that of a Roman suburban villa.

In total twenty-eight herms were depicted in Dupérac's illustration of the Villa Medici. But the question remains whether these objects were from Cardinal de' Medici's own previously established collection at the Vigna Poggio or already a part of Ricci's property. In the contract of sale of the Ricci Villa to Ferdinando de' Medici there is no mention of herms.[34] However, the issue of the monetary

[34]Rome, Archivio di Stato, Collegio dei Notari Capitolini Atti Campani, prot. 434, 54-57. In a letter to Cardinal Ridolfi (62), immediately following the contract of sale, regarding the financing of the Cardinal de' Medici's purchase there is a list of extraneous objects for the garden, and also no mention of Herms.

value of herms is vague. There is a possibility that such objects were not considered antiques and thus not a notable expense. This assumption can be made due to the fact that extensive restorations, required by certain heads and shafts, had been carried out in the sixteenth century. In some cases an inability to identify individual portrait heads surviving from antiquity meant that some herms retained little historical value, and this could also be an explanation as to why herms were not included in the property sale agreement even if they remained physically at the villa. The most plausible explanation, however, is that, even though they appear as a prominent form of sculptural decoration in Dupérac's illustration, these figures were considered to be part of the fabric of the garden and not as additional or extraneous objects that could be marketed elsewhere.

In Zucchi's fresco, fifty two herms are either literally depicted or their presence suggested.[35] From surviving written documentation about the herms used to decorate a pergola on the periphery of the Vigna Poggio property, we can tell that Ferdinando de' Medici would have been in possession of only a maximum of eighteen herms by the time he purchased the Villa Ricci.[36] If the Cardinal was able to display twenty eight herms in Dupérac's map of Rome, he must have acquired some of these objects from Ricci with the purchase of his Pincian Hill villa. There is no surviving written documentation regarding the specific purchase of any herms by the Cardinal for the Villa Medici, and the possibility that such objects were acquired with the Ricci Villa must remain the primary explanation for Cardinal de' Medici's ability to display such a large number of herms prior to his major purchases of antique sculpture acquired specifically to decorate this site.

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[35]For some Herms, their position in the garden was not in the view due to the angle of vision chosen by the artist, but it is fair to assume that a certain degree of symmetricality would have occurred for the placement of such objects in this landscape.
[36]Huelsen, "Die Hermeninschriften", 129.

The knowledge of which Villa Giulia herms were in Cardinal de' Medici's possession was well established by 1569 in written acknowledgements which accompany the visual records of Achilles Statius. In Statius' publication *Inlustrum virorum*, five of the inscribed Villa Giulia herms that were among those discovered by Pighius near Hadrian's Villa are recorded as being in Cardinal de' Medici's possession.[37] These herms include Miltiades, Herakleitos, Aristophanes, Socrates and Carneades, and they form the foundation of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's herm collection (figs. 54-58).

In the Turin manuscript of Pirro Ligorio these same five herms were also selected and recorded as a representation of the herms in Pope Julius III's collection (figs. 59-63).[38] In Boissard's Paris sketchbook, however, the herms of Aristophanes and Socrates are recorded as being in the collection of Cardinal de' Medici, while the herms of Miltiades, Herakleitos and Carneades were all listed as being in the collection of Pope Julius III (figs. 64-66).[39] In addition to the latter three, a herm inscribed with M. ELPIDIVS EROS also appears in Boissard's sketchbooks as being in Julius III's collection (fig. 66).[40] In Statius' publication a further six uninscribed herms were also recorded by him as being in Cardinal de' Medici's garden (figs. 67-72).[41] In Pirro Ligorio's Turin XXIII manuscript there were many more herms recorded as being at the Villa Giulia, but as there was no specific mention of them also being in the collection of Cardinal de' Medici, this information cannot be considered in any reconstruction of Ferdinando's collection.[42]

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[37]Statius, *Inlustrium virorum*, 2, 8, 9, 10 and 14.
[38]Boissard, Stockholm, S68, 78r for Isocrates, Carneades, Herakleitos and Miltiades, and 78v for Aristophanes.
[39]Boissard, Paris 12.509, 297 for the Aristophanes and Isocrates, 301 for Miltiades and Herakleitos, and 302 for Carneades.
[40]Ibid. 302 and Boissard Stockholm, 78v.
[41]Statius, *Inlustrium virorum*, 29, 34, 43, 49, 51, 52.
[42]Ligorio, Turin 23, 42, 44, 56, 57, 60, 68, 72, 74, 76, 86 - 87, 109, 111, 116 - 117, 142, 144, 327, 364 -365, 410. Huelsen, "Die Hermeninschriften," cat. nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 16, 19, 20, 30,

As previously mentioned, the 1602 and 1613 engravings of the Villa Medici by Buti and Lauro give the impression that their primary purpose was to record in detail the architectural and landscape features as well as the sculptural decoration of this property (Figs. 3 and 53). The act of numbering each decorative or structural object offers an intimate account of the external displays and interior organisation at the villa. In these engravings, however, the priority seems to be more on the collection of antique sculptures displayed along the garden facade of the casino as the detailed listing of each of these individual works constitutes the majority of written information. The only objects which are clearly present, but not specifically identified are the garden herms.

Why herms have remained so neglected in studies of the Villa Medici design, decoration and antiquities collection is perhaps best exemplified by the manner in which they were recorded by illustrators such as Buti and Lauro. When compared to the attention given to the display of figural sculptures, busts and reliefs, that devoted to herms is marginal. Instead of being interpreted as focal points, the herms in these images occupy a similar structural and organisational status to their surrounding box hedging. Herms are only elevated above these plant forms due to their decorative value as sculptural markers to define junctions along the garden paths through and around the hedged parterres. However, as they are visually enveloped within this surrounding vegetation, in both of these early seventeenth-century illustrations, their presence is in no way highlighted or distinguished. As a result, these Villa Medici antiquities never established any significant decorative importance among the wide variety of surrounding sculptural garden ornaments at the Villa, and their generic

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31, 39, 67, 70, 82, 90, 155 and 162. *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, ed. G. Kaibel, vol. 14, (Berlin: 1890), 1128, 1134, 1136, 1138, 1140, 1159, 1163, 1168, 1170, 1185, 1186 and 194, 199, 218, 269, and 274.

appearance as simply representing circular heads on delicate tapering shafts is all that these artists required to define their presence.

Though the Villa Medici herms in the Buti and Lauro images may seem to be a secondary form of sculptural decoration, it cannot be ignored that their total number of seventy two, recorded in a 1598 inventory of the antique sculpture at this site, constitutes almost one fifth of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's entire antiquities collection on display at this villa.[43] Here, the use and understanding of herms was as "terminus" figures as they marked intersections among the garden paths which formed the grid between the tall box hedging in the north of the garden. This concept of herm use must have been adapted from a previously established understanding of herms realised earlier in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as similar display conditions to those employed at the Villa Medici can be identified in paintings and illustrations of other Roman villas.

In Baldassare Peruzzi's painted frieze of the Salone delle Prospettive at the Villa Farnesina, herms were used to separate mythological scenes (fig. 73). Painted between 1517 and 1518, Peruzzi chose to depict these figures as having their movement limited by the physical encasement of their legs in stone. Their feet are represented to suggest the presence of legs within the confines of the tapered quadrangular shafts from which their torsos emerge. The tonal quality of this group of herms is reflective of stone and this visual association further enforces a sense of their nature as static dividers. However, not only do these herms define boundaries to action, but they are also given a further sense of restriction, linked with the painted and fictitious structural framework of the entablature on which this frieze has been depicted. As a result, their forms appear to be an essential physical support to a painted decorative cornice and this establishes the notion

[43]Boyer, "Un inventoire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)", *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33 (1929): 269. Under the heading "Testa del viale Longo (sic)," 364 - 435, "72 Termini di marmo per tutti il giardino."

that these figures are part of the structure, being only slightly more important as they remain a figural decorative category in themselves.

The herms which appear on the portico frieze of the Villa Medici Poggio a Caiano also serve to visually divide separate components of a single scene (figs. 74 a,b,c). However, rather than being differentiated from all the other figures appearing on the frieze, their similar size, colour and stature make them part of the scene rather than subordinate to it. Although these Poggio a Caiano herms are clearly limited in terms of movement or gesture due to the restraint which defines their physical character, their role as an effective means of division is, at least, still consistent with the idea of herm use in the Villa Farnesina frieze.[44]

Also employed at the Villa Medici Poggio a Caiano are a group of herms which define the architectural environment of the loggia entrance to the Pan Grotto, located at the back of the villa casino (fig. 75). These herms, though essential in helping to define the decorative program and iconography for the architectural environment which they help to form, do not themselves create a physically dramatic scene, but instead stand guard as part of the loggia. They are clearly locked in place by the physical limitations of their bodies and are only able to provide mild intimidation to visitors entering the grotto through the contortions of their faces and the intensity of their carefully directed stares.

In the fourth book of Sebastiano Serlio's treatise on architecture there is yet another example of herm use as isolated figural decoration. In this treatise there is an illustration of a fireplace whose hearth is bordered on each side by a single female herm (fig. 76). The facial expressions of these herms reflect the visible implications of their restricted physical movement. They appear to have their

[44]For a detailed analysis of the Poggio a Caiano frieze see S. Bardazzi and E. Castellani, *La Villa Medicea di Poggio a Caiano*, (Florence: 1981), vol. 1, 241-274.

legs bound by winding strips of cloth that leave their feet exposed, but entirely encase the rest of their lower bodies. Here, as with the herms of the Villa Farnesina frieze, Serlio's herms are shown to have leg movement physically restricted, and this restraint seems imposed to ensure that the figures remain at their posts of structural responsibility.

In the Villa Farnesina frieze, the Poggio a Caiano frieze, the Pan Grotto and in the illustration of Serlio's hearth, herms are shown as important decorative features with specific structural, architectural or divisional roles. They are not the primary purpose of any of these decorative or architectural works, but nonetheless are essential visual boundaries whose very presence completes each composition. The herms at the Villa Medici can also be interpreted in this same way, as they reflect what in many pre-existing and contemporary Roman suburban villa gardens had become a decorative standard. As these properties were designed for the display of large collections of a wide variety of classical antique sculpture, herms must be interpreted as an essential component of such patronage while formal figural sculpture remained a logical formal focal point within a villa garden landscape.

Given the lack of specific mention of the Villa Medici herm collection in all the surviving documentation about this property, and given that the aim of this research is to try to establish an overall idea as to the nature, composition and significance of this collection, only a comprehensive study of all the surviving documentation about herms in general is an acceptable means of establishing the significance of the herms in the Villa Medici collection. The epigraphic and archaeological considerations focused on by historians such as G. Kaibel and Christian Hülsen and the history of herm discovery and their excavation presented by Rodolfo Lanciani laid the groundwork for this study, but this material neglects the fact that these works fit into the larger context of classical

antique sculpture collections of several individual patrons whose iconographic ambitions would have varied significantly.

Though no specific mention of herms can be found in surviving Medici archival materials, some of the herms known to have been in Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's possession prior to his purchase of the Pincian Hill villa were well documented elsewhere in the studies of Pighius, Boissard, Ligorio, Statius and Orsini. In addition to this, a number of herm fragments do remain at the Villa Medici, and this makes it possible to gain a limited sense of the general composition of this collection and occasionally establish the possible movement of a particular herm or herm portrait from the Vigna Poggio collection of the Villa Giulia to the Villa Medici for its decoration.

In studying the Buti and Lauro engravings, it is impossible to identify the location of each of the seventy-two herms listed as being in the inventory of 1598. By counting the number suggested from their illustrated arrangement, only sixty herms can be accounted for. These are all situated in the areas immediately behind and to the north of the casino. The visual absence of twelve herms in these zones of the garden suggests that some were placed in the *bosco* above the terrace.[45] But there is no way to confirm such a theory. The only possible answers to account for this numerical discrepancy is either to acknowledge that herms were situated in the twelve corners of hedged parterres along the north/south garden axis or accept that the person responsible for counting the herms for the 1598 inventory made a calculated assumption. But which herms were actually in this collection?

[45]Andres, *Villa Medici*, vol. 2, 235-236, n. 635, states that the Herms which he saw there "must have been moved from other parts of the garden" as he did not consider their presence as figuring among the seventy-two included in the 1598 inventory.

Herms can be understood in three basic category headings. As historical objects they survived from antiquity as complete figures, as shafts or as portrait heads. In attempting to reconstruct any collection of such objects, this fundamental means of classification must be acknowledged in relation to Ferdinando de' Medici's collection and the origin of his herms. Given this understanding, the specific mention of herms in archival documents does not necessarily mean that all the objects displayed as complete herms were actually discovered or purchased in such condition.

Around the time that the herms discovered by Pighius in Tivoli were being moved to the Villa Giulia and elsewhere, there were several written records documenting the purchase of fragments which must have been added to and used to restore such pieces in Pope Julius III's collection. On 16 May 1552 Julius III is recorded as having paid "scudi 5 a Pietro de Nerito Scarp.no sotto campidoglio per prezzo di due termini di marmo ___ A. m.r Benedetto Gentilponte per pezzo di quattro termini di che ci ha venduti per la vigna."[46] On 22 May in the same year he purchased three herms from a sculptor named Leonardo.[47] On 1 June he purchased a herm head from another sculptor called Giovanni.[48] The list of these types of purchases continues into the next year, and in all these accounts, with only one exception, the word antique is not used to describe any object or fragment.[49] Thus it is possible that some of these acquisition records may be for contemporary renaissance works and new restoration fragments to be added to existing antiquities, suggesting that the Pope's collection contained numerous antique sculptural fragments of either herms or portrait heads which were suitably adaptable to become part of "new" sculptural compositions made-up of

[46]Lanciani, *Storia*, vol. 3, 31.
[47]Ibid. "A. m.ro Leonardo scultore per costo di 3. termini havuti da lui."
[48]Ibid. "A. m.ro Valente scudi tre di oro per darli a m.ro Giovanni scultore fior.no per conto di una testa di marmo di termine."
[49]Ibid. A notation of 10 July records an acquired Herm as antique. "Il barcaiuolo Andrea Schiavone conduce al Porto un termine antico che egli aveva caricato alla vigna di monsignor Datario."

either a selection of unrelated antique sculptural fragments or a combination of ancient remains and renaissance restorations.

It is easy to assume that the images published by Statius in his *Inlustrum Virorum* provide possible visual evidence for some of the herms which Ferdinando moved to decorate his Pincian Hill villa. Without specific written documentary references, many discussions of the Villa Medici herm collection suggest that, some time after Cardinal de' Medici's purchase of the Ricci villa in 1576, the figures discussed by Statius and his contemporaries as being part of the Cardinal's collection were transferred to this site.[50] The visual evidence of the plan for herms display illustrated by Zucchi in his frescoed proposal as well as their inclusion in Dupérac's map would certainly suggest this possibility.

In the 1588 inventory of the Vigna Poggio six herms were recorded as decorating this garden.[51] Though none of these herms is specifically identified, their presence at this site effectively brings into question any assumption that all the herms which Cardinal de' Medici acquired with this property were moved to decorate his Pincian Hill villa. However, if all these herms were not moved, the question which remains is where the Villa Medici herms could have originated from and which herms remained at the Vigna Poggio. In order to answer this the surviving information about Cardinal de' Medici's collective purchase of antiquities for this site from the della Valle/Capranica collection must be considered and the possible formation of herms incorporating antique fragments and renaissance restorations be understood.

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[50]Carlo Gaspari, "Le antiquities de la Villa Mèdicis" in Chastel, *Villa Médicis*, vol. 2, 450. In his text Gaspari states, "nombreux éléments bien reconnaissables de la collection de Jules III apparaissaient déjà inclus dans le premier état de la villa sur le Pincio, parmi des 72 hermès qui délimitaient le quadrillage du parterre, il est légitime de penser que la cardinal Ferdinand ait pu effecteur d'autres transferts du jardin plus modeste sur la via Flaminia à la nouvelle et splendide résidence."

[51]ASF, Miscellanea Medicea 363, 2.

In the surviving purchase inventory of Agnolo di Capranica's collection of classical antique sculpture made in 1584 as part of a record for Cardinal de' Medici's purchase of the della Valle/Capranica collections, numerous sculptural fragments are listed.[52] Some of the items, such as unidentified heads and busts may have eventually been used to form the herms in the Villa Medici garden. Among all of these sculptures there was only one unnamed "Termine" listed, and its cost was a mere four scudi.[53] Such a minimal expense suggests that this was an unadorned herm shaft, and it certainly could have been restored with a portrait for use in this garden.

Adding to all this fragmentary sixteenth-century documentation are the surviving objects themselves which, as mentioned earlier, remain at the site as sculptural fragments. However, these remains completely exclude the five herms consistently recorded by mid-sixteenth century scholars as having been in Cardinal de' Medici's possession at the Villa Giulia. In fact, of this set of inscribed shafts, among those discovered by Pighius near Hadrian's Villa, only one, the Aristophanes, survives and is now on display in the Uffizi gallery in Florence.[54] Given this lack of epigraphic evidence, the only fragmentary remains which can thus be considered for a study of the Villa Medici collection are the surviving portrait fragments at the site.

To base a study purely on the comparison of secondary visual references certainly demands that the questionable reliability of these resources be acknowledged. Any comparisons which visually establish a direct connection between the surviving herm fragments at the Villa Medici and sixteenth century illustrations can thus be understood as only offering an insight for a possible historical analysis. Many visual relationships between the surviving Villa

[52]Aurelio Gotti, *Gallerie di Firenze*, (Florence: 1872), 305-315.
[53]Ibid., 312.
[54]Florence, Uffizi, Sala degli Iscrizioni, 208.

Medici herm fragments and mid-sixteenth century images of such objects can be achieved, but any accompanying historical information which identifies an original site location cannot always be accepted. As a result, the relationship established between sculpture and documentation, in this instance, is only viable for reconstructing an idea of the variety of subjects which had contributed to the overall iconographic composition of this herm collection as it would have been understood in the sixteenth century.

The Villa Giulia herms which were recorded by Pighius as being among his epigraphic discoveries in Tivoli were all documented by him as being headless (figs. 76-78).[55] However, by the time these objects were illustrated by Boissard, Ligorio, and Statius they had been restored.[56] The origin of these heads is unknown. They may have been either genuine antiques or sixteenth-century restorations. Whatever their origin, they all follow a similar pattern of appearance and expression, while appearing slightly different in the articulation of facial detail. As a result, it is impossible to establish which visual resource is the most accurate and identifications, as a result, must be compared with all of the surviving illustrations, acknowledging that some difference in appearance between object and image is inevitable.

In Boissard's 1568 Stockholm and 1571 Paris manuscripts the herm with the inscription of M. ELPIDIVS EROS, identified as being from the collection of Pope Julius III is shown restored with a Jupiter-Ammon portrait distinctly similar to a surviving fragment from the Villa Medici collection (figs. 66, 79 and 80).[57]

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[55]Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Codex Pighianus, Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Lat. 61, 145r, 145v and 146r.

[56]In Ligorio's drawings for the Codex Urisinianus, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 3439, 123r, 123v and 124r, he does not yet record all of the Villa Giulia Herms with their complete portrait restoriations, only suggesting heads with rough outlined forms. Also interesting to note is that only the Villa Giulia Herms were recorded by Boissard with restored heads the other shafts recorded by Pighius as being discovered at Hadrian's Villa had not yet been restored.

[57]Ludwig Curtius, "Zeus und Hermes: studien zur Geschichte ihres Ideals und seiner Überlieferung", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institiuts, Römische Abteilung*,

A line drawn across both of Boissard's illustrations does indicate that the antique shaft survived to a height just above the inscription, and thus without shoulders or head. At the Villa Medici, however, only these parts of a like figure remain. This portrait fragment, rather than being a shaft with a flat surface just below the portrait, has two angled stone faces whose forms begin at the shoulders and project forward to meet in vertical alignment with the mid-point of the portrait itself. The upper-most edges of these surfaces are also curved so that the point at which they meet forms the base of a "v". This same curve is indicated by two short lines included in Boissard's Stockholm illustration and suggests that the Villa Medici fragment may have formed part of the M. ELPIDIVS EROS herm from the Villa Giulia collection.[58]

In addition to the Jupiter-Ammon portrait, there are three further surviving sculptural fragments of heads which are also reflective of sixteenth-century illustrations (figs. 80, 81, 82 and 83). The first is a portrait of Isocrates which appears very similar to the Villa Giulia herm as it was recorded by Ligorio (figs. 62 and 82). The other two portraits, however, do not reflect any which accompanied inscribed shafts and thus a name identification is impossible. Their images appear in Statius' 1569 *Inlustrum virorum* and they, like the Jupiter-Ammon portrait, are described as being in the garden of Cardinal de' Medici at the villa of Pope Julius III.[59] One of the portraits shows a beardless man whose hair is neatly combed forward and head is tilted slightly to the right

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supplement I, *Bollettino dell' Istituto Archeologico Germanico*, (1931): 29-33 for discussion and examples of the Jupiter-Ammon portrait type.

[58]Christian Callmer, "Un manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard à la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm", *Opuscula Romana*, 4, (Lund: 1962), 52-53, discusses the uniformity of Boissard's Holmiensis and Sangermanensis manuscript volumes and states that the first was made in 1559, the year after Boissard returned home to France after travel to numerous cities in search of antiuities. Mandowsky and Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio*, 27-28, further suggest that the Paris Sangermanensis manuscript merely copies most of the information in the Holmiensis manuscript. This could explain why there are slight differences in the appearance of the Herms and may make the images in the Holmiensis manuscript more of an accurate representation of the Herms as Boissard saw them in Rome.

[59]Statius, *Inlustrum virorum*, 29 and 52.

(fig. 67). The next is a double herm, utilising the same form as Janus, but with juxtaposed male and female portraits (fig. 71 and 83). Their heads, back to back, are best observed together in profile and this is how they have been illustrated by Statius.

The single masculine portrait representation is clearly an illustration of a surviving head whose original fragment and several cement copies are currently on display at the Villa Medici property. The double herm portrait, however, does not establish such a convincing visual connection. There is a similar double herm from the Villa Medici collection, but its form is quite overgrown in foliage and it appears to have suffered some physical damage. These factors make a clear identification and visual comparison extremely difficult, and thus it is only fair to suggest that a portrait similar to that illustrated by Statius was indeed part of the Villa Medici herm collection, while it is not necessarily the figure from which the image included in his text was made.

In addition to the appearance of specific Medici herms or their likenesses in the studies of Statius and Boissard, the Turin XXIII manuscript of Pirro Ligorio presents the greatest opportunity to establish visual associations between surviving fragments and portrait illustrations as he includes over three-hundred images of herm figures and their portraits. However, he too, like Boissard and Statius, illustrates portraits which were sixteenth-century restorations added to antique inscribed shafts.[60]

The difference between Ligorio's herm illustrations and those of Statius lies in the details of portrait representation. As the images in Statius' publication were engraved for printing, their appearance is much more refined than Ligorio's

[60]Most of the Villa Giulia Herms, with the exception of the Aristophanes, are shown with portrait restorations.

personal manuscript sketches. It is thus more likely that the images of Statius can establish a sure visual association with a surviving sculptural portrait fragment, while those of Ligorio merely suggest an idea of which historical personalities may have been part of Cardinal de' Medici's herm collection.

When studying the images in Pirro Ligorio's Turin XXIII manuscript in comparison with the surviving herm portrait fragments which remain at the Villa Medici two types of visual associations can be made. The herms can either be literally identified as being a possible visual source for an illustration or a more general example of a portrait type representing a particular historical personality. However, as mentioned earlier, the information gained from Ligorio's manuscripts can only be considered an aid in determining part of the selection of historical subjects represented in the Villa Medici herm collection.

From Ligorio's Turin XXIII manuscript the portraits of Aischines (figs. 84 and 85), Horatio Flacco (figs. 86 and 87), the poet Moschion (figs. 88 and 89), Plato the son of Ariston Aristotle (figs 90 and 91), Antipas (figs. 92 and 93), Scipio (figs. 94 and 95), Zenon (figs. 96 and 97) and Solon (figs. 98 and 99) all resemble surviving herm portrait fragments at the Villa Medici.[61] Of these only figures of Scipio, Aischines, Socrates, and Zenon are mentioned by Ligorio as having been in the collection of the Villa Giulia.[62] As a result, the visual likenesses between Horatio Flacco, Moschion, Plato, Antipas and Solon are less likely to be a specific match to an individual figure and only suggest that similar

[61]Ligorio Turing 23, 74, 72, 71, 96, 20, 379, 144, 111, 34.

[62]Ligorio notes that the figure of Cippo was actually removed by Pope Pius IV to be used to decorate the Teatro Belvedere. As a result the Medici portrait is similar in style to that illustrated by Ligorio, but probably not the original from which his drawing was made. Its distinct likeness does raise questions as to whether Cardinal de' Medici may have had Herms copied from established prototypes to diversify the portraits in his Herm collection. Ligorio, Turin XXIII, p. 144, "li ornamenti della Villa di Papa Julio Terzo, et di quiui tolta da Papa Pio Quarto et dedicata nell' Atrio nuovo di Belvedere nell' Hemijciclo verso la Torre Borgia."

herm portraits may have been part of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's collection displayed at his Pincian Hill villa.

In addition to the list of direct likenesses are two other surviving Villa Medici portrait fragments that can be identified as reflecting particular type of sculptural representations of other well known Greek philosophers. These are the portraits of Socrates and Euripides (figs. 100 and 101). They are in no way directly reflective of the portraits which Ligorio and Orsini illustrate as representing these historical figures, but their resemblance in terms of artistic style and portrait type is unmistakable (figs. 102 and103).[63]

Among the identifications of the surviving Villa Medici herm portrait fragments are the historical identifications which have been made by scholars of classical archaeology.[64] As the interest for these individuals is more related to the history of the antique object and its ancient historical context, these classifications do not necessarily reflect the understanding of herm portraits by scholars of the sixteenth century. Apart from monograph studies of the antiquities of Villa Medici, only two of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's collection of herms have received attention from archaeologists. One is the surviving shaft of Aristophanes in the Uffizi and the other is a herm portrait of Sophocles which has been classified as being a representation of the "Farnese type" portrait (fig. 104).[65] From the visual information provided by classical archaeologists in photographic collections of Greek portraiture another surviving Medici fragment can be defined as representing a "blind type" portrait of Homer, but there is no other historical analysis to complement such an identification (fig. 105).[66]

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[63]See Ligorio Turin 23, 54 for Socrates and 78 for Euripides.
[64]See, G.M.A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, 3 vols., (London: 1965). Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le Antichità di Villa Medici*, (Rome: 1951). Guido A. Mansueli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture*, (Rome: 1961), vol. 2.
[65]See Richter, 141 for the Aristophanes and 126 for the "Farnese type" Sophocles. See also Mansuelli, 71, cat. 68
[66]Ibid., see figs. 58-109 for examples of this portrait type.

From the monographs about the Villa Medici antiquities collection a further selection of herms has been identified as representations of the deity Hermes or of Dionysus.[67] Among all of the surviving fragments and cement copies of herm portraits at the Villa Medici the number which can be identified is quite small when compared to the total number in the collection overall.[68] Many of these forms have obscure appearances, and although a visual association with an historical image may be possible, the identity for some remains questionable.[69] This is certainly the case with the drunken Pan type herm portrait at the Villa Medici (fig. 106). Although this portrait directly compares with images in a sketchbook of Marten van Heemskerk or the herm portraits of the Pan Grotto at the Villa Medici Poggio a Caiano, its identity remains unclear (fig. 75) in terms of historical herm portraiture.[70]

There was much confusion in the sixteenth century as to whether all the herms documented by scholars such as Boissard and Ligorio were in fact genuine antiques. Fulvio Orsini, in his 1570 publication *Imagines*, brings this issue to the attention of his readers in an attempt to assure the authenticity of his text, illustrations and method of study.[71] As a result, he illustrates the inscribed herm shafts discovered by Pighius without their restored heads and combines his historical biographies with illustrations of herms, busts, statuary and coinage. By doing this Orsini is essentially defining two categories of herms. One type is a genuine antiquity and the other is either a sixteenth-century copy or a partially

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[67]Cajano de Azevedo, cat. 83, 244, 247 and 278, and 80, 104 and 113.
[68]Of all the Herms which Azevedo catalogues, many are merely listed as unidentified antiquities under a general heading indicating no more than if they are masculine or feminine, bearded or not, and if they are composed of a double or a single portrait.
[69]Most of these obscure portraits are left unrecorded by scholars.
[70]C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerk*, (Berlin: 1913-1916), vol. 1, pl. 70 and vol. 2, pl. 93.
[71]Orsini, 6, and Mandowsky and Mitchell, 128, document 5, "in antiquarum imaginum nuper impressum librum irrepserunt, volvi vos admonuisse, ne, veritatis ignoratione, falsa illa, ac subdititia inscriptione deciperemini."

restored work. In refining his text to include only the most historically important antiquities Orsini has, perhaps, pre-empted a later-sixteenth century attitude in which patrons gave a selection of these objects secondary status as Roman villa garden decorations.

At the Villa Medici the herms on display must have been interpreted by antiquarians and scholars as being merely a selection of portrait busts on uninscribed and unadorned quadrangular shafts, providing no visible evidence of their being genuine antiques. None of these herm portraits were ever studied or reproduced in detail after Orsini's 1570 publication effectively established that such portraits were not historical objects and specifically excluded them from his illustrative reproductions. In fact, none of the inscribed herm shafts which Orsini reproduced and identified as being in the possession of Cardinal de' Medici was ever recorded as having been on display at the Villa Medici. As a result, the Cardinal's Villa Medici herms were displayed in such a way as to make their individual presence less pronounced than the figural sculpture also on display in this garden. This reflected the antiquarians' categorisation of herms as either important historical works or merely contemporary decorative objects.

Though scholars such as Boissard and Ligorio tried to be as comprehensive as possible in their extended documentation of the herms in Roman antiquities collections, they sometimes neglected to acknowledge restorations and must have been considered by Orsini to provide misleading information. Publications like that of Achilles Statius were even more historically dubious with his visual emphasis on herm portraits combining a selection of anonymous heads with those restored on to the inscribed shafts recorded by Pighius in a more scholarly fashion. But all these historical and visual records are important. They reflect not only a considerable scholarly interest in herms during the second half of the sixteenth century, but also highlight the ambitions of patrons to have their

objects publicly acknowledged as being historically valuable. This attention would certainly rank their collections as some of the finest in the city and the political symbolism embodied with this type of status was certainly something to be aspired to by all young collectors and maintained by those who were better established.

By 1576, when he came into possession of the Villa Ricci, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici would have been able to consider an extensive history of herm patronage and study in Rome. This information must have aided his decision to include such objects in the decorative program of his new villa and must have helped him decide where these figures should be situated within the confines of his garden landscape. By the time this property purchase had taken place, Cardinal de' Medici would not only have been intimately familiar with the display of herms at the Villa Giulia, but would have also understood the relative value of one object to another in an historical context.

Ferdinando de' Medici would certainly have been aware of Orsini's historical analysis of herms in terms of their value as genuine antique artefacts. A few of the herms included in Orsini's *Imagines* had passed into the Cardinal's collection with the Vigna Poggio, and as a result this author would have certainly requested permission to study the remains in order to make an assessment of their historical authenticity.[72] It is unknown whether the herms which Ferdinando had acquired with the Vigna Poggio were ever moved to the Cardinal's Pincian Hill villa, but this transfer does seem unlikely. The more historically valued inscribed shafts which were discovered by Pighius in Tivoli, probably remained as part of the six herms recorded in the 1588 inventory of this garden. As Ferdinando would surely have understood their historical importance by the time

[72]Orsini, 12 for Miltiades, 29 for Aristophanes, 63 for Herakleitos tes, 66 for Carneades and 77 for Isocrates.

of his purchase of the Ricci villa, it is unlikely that these herms would have been thought of as a possible selection of objects to mark the edges of and be hidden amongst the tall hedging of garden parterres.[73]

To make a herm shaft in the sixteenth century would have been very simple and inexpensive. All that would have been required was a block of stone in the form of an antique architectural fragment such as a column and a mason with enough skill to copy the standard shape of a tapering quadrangular mass. If this was the case the "new" herm form, with the attachment of an anonymous head acquired with a purchase of a collection of antique sculptures, would be ancient in the origin of its parts, but not a true historical antiquity. This could be why the herms visually recorded by Buti and Lauro as having been a fundamental part of the decoration of the Villa Medici garden landscape, were not considered worth listing in the same detail as antique figural sculptures, reliefs and busts used to decorate other areas of this property in the inventory of 1598.

Herms have a complex history in terms of their use as decorative objects in the sixteenth century. Their discovery and recording by Pighius began a tradition of patronage that had clearly become a standard for any patron of classical antique sculpture at this time who was using his works to decorate a private landscape. In continuing Ricci's efforts to transform a vigna into a villa, Ferdinando de' Medici must have been aware of the importance of herms in terms of their essential inclusion in a property of this kind.[74]

The overall scope of historical personalities represented as herms which were part of Cardinal de' Medici's collection can only be understood as isolated fragments as their presence at this site was documented solely under a collective

[73]See note 47. Gaspari does not take the situation of the Herms at the Villa Medici into account in his historical analysis.
[74]Ricci's transformation of the Crecenzi vigna is discussed by Andres, "Villa Medici", 278, n. 4.

subject heading. From visual comparisons with illustrations which accompany the text of Pirro Ligorio's Turin XXIII manuscript it is clear that a wide range of subjects were represented in herm form and that at the Villa Medici a diverse selection of such subjects is represented among the surviving herm portrait fragments that remain at the villa. As there are also a number of such remains which cannot be specifically identified, the overall iconographic make-up of the collection as a whole can never be fully established, but can now be recognised as including a wide selection of Greek historical figures as their appearance was understood during the sixteenth century.

It is possible that the decorative use of herms as boundary markers in Zucchi's fresco and Dupérac's illustration was a form of garden decoration that had already been established for the Villa Ricci. Given the number of herms which Cardinal de' Medici initially proposed to use and eventually did employ in the Villa Medici garden it is possible that herms were acquired with his purchase of this site. If these were not necessarily true historical antiquities in their sculptural origin, they may not have been considered valuable enough for inclusion in the purchase agreement.

That Ferdinando de' Medici gave secondary status to the herms employed to decorate his Pincian Hill Villa becomes more evident when it has been clarified that limited importance was attached to these objects in decorative illustrations such as the painted frieze in the Salone delle Prospettive of the Villa Farnesina or the engraving of a hearth included in Sebastiano Serlio's fourth book of his architectural treatise. If there was no sure historical value for the herms on display at the Villa Medici individually, their collective presence as boundary markers must have enabled the patron to employ the established tradition of herm use as a form of sixteenth century Roman garden decoration, demonstrating an understanding of their function by adequately incorporating

them within the hierarchy of an overall antique sculpture collection, into the design of his new garden.

Why Ferdinando de' Medici collected herms is perhaps answered by the fact that he not only desired to make his property rank with those of the other politically powerful patrons of the city, but also wanted to emphasise to others his own importance as a patron and potential ruler within the political hierarchy of the Church. He was not only competing with his contemporaries, but also with a previous generation of patrons whose collections were well documented by mid-sixteenth century scholars. Unfortunately for him, times had changed. Collections of such objects as garden herms were no longer understood to be a single category of antique sculpture valued in any condition, but instead, they had to be defined in terms of having either historical or decorative value. Though it can only be hypothesised, it is possible that Ferdinando de' Medici tried to accommodate this difference in object status by retaining the herms of historical value, recorded by Pighius, at the Vigna Poggio and moving only decorative herm fragments to the Villa Medici; appropriate to be used as they were in decorating and defining a villa garden landscape.

CHAPTER IV

The Villa Medici Obelisk

In the 1598 inventory of the Villa Medici antiquities collection the entry numbered 299 lists "1 Guglia di granito."[1] In this written catalogue of artefacts the *guglia*, as obelisks were often termed in the sixteenth century, makes its first appearance in the surviving written documentation of Ferdinando de' Medici about his Pincian Hill villa.[2] The obelisk, like the other objects in this inventory, is only identified by details of its physical appearance and general location. Unsurprisingly, its history and purpose are ignored in the inventory.

The first general view of the Villa Medici garden to include the obelisk is Domenico Buti's 1602 engraving of the property (fig. 3). This illustration provides a visual catalogue of the site and of the statuary and relief sculptures displayed in the garden or on the villa casino exterior. Each item is carefully numbered and at the bottom of the engraving is a corresponding list of written identifications. In this illustration the obelisk receives no specific mention. It is not numbered and therefore has no text description. Instead, its importance appears as a visual link between one section of garden to another as its prominent location, along the main north-south garden axis, made it visible to anyone entering the garden from the casino loggia, walking north on the central path of the elevated *bosco*, or tracing the opposite axial route defined by the tall hedged parterres and lattice fencing of the northern landscape.[3]

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[1]See Appendix, no. 299. See also F. Boyer, "Un inventoire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)," *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33 (1929): 267. The entire inventory entry reads, "1 Guglia di granito su 4 tartuche di metallo tutta con l[ette]re hieroglifiche su il piedistallo di marmo salingo e palla di rame donato in cima."

[2]According to George Sarton, "Agrippa, Fontana and Pigafetta: The Erection of the Vatican Obelisk in 1586," *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences* 8 (1949): 828, n. 2, the term "la guglia" is a derivation from the French "l'aiguille" meaning "the needle."

[3]The garden path occupied by the obelisk is shown incorrectly positioned in Buti's engraving. Though it appears in this image just to the left of the central casino loggia stair it should, instead, appear in alignment with the stair to form a single casino-garden axis.

The history of the Villa Medici obelisk is surprisingly obscure. In Medici inventories, it only ever receives a fleeting reference.[4] Its historical background and acquisition by Cardinal de' Medici are never discussed in archive documents and this must explain its unpopularity for study as an isolated decorative phenomenon. As the relationship of the obelisk to a small mountain in the elevated *bosco* is emphasised in Buti's engraving, the Villa Medici obelisk has attracted considerable scholarly attention and debate primarily in relation to studies of this small mountain.[5] In addition the obelisk has also been a topic of research as an historical antiquity.[6] But how and why the object exists in the garden as a decorative device with its own set iconographic implications has never been adequately addressed.

Why the obelisk was situated as one of the most prominent ornamental features of the Villa Medici garden is unclear. The lack of attention in documenting its acquisition and erection in the garden is also curious. As an historical object, which does not correspond to the same set of aesthetic criteria associated with the more traditional free-standing, relief or portrait carvings on display at the villa, its significance as part of Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection is

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[4]In addition to its mention in the inventory published by Boyer, the obelisk is also listed in an inventory of works to be transported from Rome to Florence which was made in 1787. See *Documenti inediti per serve alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, vol. 4 (Florence and Rome: 1880), 78. It was recorded under the heading "Oggetti di arte e di antichità trasporti da Roma a Firenze per ordire del Gran Duca" and was catalogued as "54. Piccolo obelisco minore di tutti i pubblici, con geroglifici."

[5]Glenn M. Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome*, vol. 1 (New York: 1976), 296-297 & 341; Suzanne B. Butters, *Ferdinand et le jardin du Pincio*, ed. André Chastel, *La villa Médicis*, vol. 2, (Rome: 1991), 377-379; and Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, vol. 3, (Rome: Quasar edition, 1990), 120.

[6]J.-J. Gloton, "Les Obélisques Romains de la Renaissance au Néo Classicime," *Mélanges d' Arcaeologique ed d' Histoire de l' École Française de Rome* 73 (1961): 465; R. Lefèrve, "Dalla 'guglia' Medicea al più antico obelisco di Eliopoli," *Strenna dei Romanisti* 43 (1982): 273-284; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2, (London: 1968), 157-158; Cesare d'Onofrio, *Gli obelischi di Roma*, (Rome: 1992), 35-36; Astorre Pellegrini, "L' Obelisco Mediceo," *Bessarione, rivista di studi orientali*, 5/9 (1901): 410-428; S.B. Planter and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: 1929), 368-369; Ann Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden: 1972), 75.

hard to define. In order to identify its role and significance as part of the Villa Medici garden decoration the obelisk must have its history analysed in the context of sixteenth-century understanding of the purpose and display settings of such objects. Its significance in relation to all the associated landscape decoration must be studied as a collective unit in order to gain a well-rounded idea of the significance of the obelisk to Ferdinando de' Medici's Pincian Hill villa garden landscape.

The obelisk itself is best studied under three separate categories of research which, together, form a complete picture of its overall function and importance at the Villa Medici. In this study I will first establish the original identity of this object in surviving written antiquarian documents. This will clarify an existing confusion about whether the obelisk was found at the back of the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva or discovered near the church of S. Rocco.[7] Next, I will establish the most likely date and means by which Ferdinando de' Medici acquired his obelisk and define the relationship between this object and others which had been recently excavated, and then publicly displayed or privately exhibited in Rome. Finally, I will look at the relationship between the obelisk and the small mountain in the Villa Medici *bosco* as well as its relationship to the other non-antique animal sculptures used as physical supports for the object itself, or placed along the same visual axis from the casino into the garden. Only then will I explain how these ornamental elements together form the late phase of decorative development of this property by defining its transition from being an aspiring Cardinal's villa to becoming a residential outpost for the Tuscan Grand Duke.

[7]For mention of the Villa Medici obelisk as that left lying in the street before the church of S. Rocco see d'Onofrio, *Obelischi*, 235.

The first image of the Villa Medici garden to record the obelisk dates from 1589 and was made by Nicholas van Aelst as part of a series of images of ancient obelisks in their late-sixteenth century Roman display contexts. This obelisk, decorated with hieroglyphs, is shown in a garden landscape (fig. 107). Centred on the page, it is set at a crossing of intersecting axial paths which are defined by a symmetrical arrangement of low hedged parterres. Marking each corner of the lateral edges of these parterres are small planted trees, not much larger than the four potted plants placed along the lintel of an enclosing wall behind. Preceding and parallel to this wall, but atop a lower lattice fencing are two animal sculptures, positioned to face each other, but separated by the obelisk in between. The sculpture on the left is a goat and that on the right is a ram.

Accompanying the visual information in van Aelst's engraving are short passages of text, freely inscribed in the top right and left corners of the page and encased within boxes along the bottom. The words provide additional information about the obelisk and its setting which could not be clarified in the confines of van Aelst's image. Only in reading this text is the viewer aware that the setting being depicted is the garden of Ferdinando de' Medici's Pincian Hill villa and that the obelisk is an antiquity discovered in the area of the Campus Martius.[8] In this text van Aelst identifies himself as the artist, dates the image and also provides a personal commentary about the obelisk, which he describes as being "Pyramis(sic) hac (sic) infer surgo viridaria, parva Mole, sed ingenti cospicienta loco."

The text in the lower right corner of van Aelst's engraving states that the obelisk was one of several placed in the Campus Martius by the last Etruscan king in Rome, Tarquinius Superbus, and that it was similar to another erected in the

[8]See fig. 112. "Questo obelisco si crede che sia uno de quelli che furono posti nel Campo Martio... hora si rittova nel mirabile giardino del Sereniss.mo Gran Duca Di (sic) Toscana."

Piazza of San Macuto.[9] Although there is only a vague reference to the original Roman siting of the Medici obelisk provided in van Aelst's text, his additional comparison to the obelisk of San Macuto directly links it with another discovered in the Campus Martius region, as van Aelst also identifies the San Macuto obelisk as being discovered in this area of the city.[10] This clarification, however, also helps to identify the Medici obelisk in other antiquarian writings of the sixteenth century.

Attention was often given to identifying obelisks, in the manuscripts and publications of early and mid-sixteenth century antiquarians, stating where they had been discovered and/or relocated.[11] It is generally accepted that the Villa Medici obelisk, as identified in these texts, was discovered near a doorway at the back of the Roman church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva around 1550.[12] Notations of this discovery were included in several antiquarian writings.[13]

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[9]Ibid. "Questo obelisco si crede che sia uno de quelli che furono posti nel Campo Martio/al tempo di Tarquinio Superbo (sic), Impero che uno simile a questo si ritrova nella piazza/di San Mahutto, qual dicono eser (sic) de quelli che erano nel Campo Martio, hora si ritruova (sic)/nel mirabile giardino del Sereniss.mo gran Duca Di (sic) Toscana."

[10]Ibid."Questo obelisco secondo alchuni fù posto nel mezzo dil (sic) Campo Martio di Tarquinio Superbo."

[11]Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono* in Lucio Mauro, *Le Antichità della città di Roma*, (Venice: 1556); Lucio Fauno, *De antiquitatibus Urbis Romae ex antiquis novisque auctoribus excerptis*, (Venice: 1549) and his later *Delle antichità della Città di Roma* (Venice: 1552); Andrea Fulvio, *Antiquaria Urbis*, (Rome: 1513) later *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome: 1527) and then translated as *Delle antichità della Città di Roma*, (Venice: 1552); Pirro Ligorio, "Codex Bodleianus", Ms. Ital. 138, Bodleian Library, Oxford University; Lucio Mauro, *Le Antichità della Città di Roma* (Venice: Ziletti, 1556); Michele Mercati, *Degli obelischi di Roma* (Rome: 1589); and Andrea Palladio, *L'Antichità di Roma* (Rome: 1554), also published in *Five Early Guides to Rome and Florence*, (Farnbourgh: 1972).

[12]This was first mentioned by Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, vol. 2 (London: 1968), 157-158. He must have deduced this from its mention in Lucio Fauno's *De antiquitatibus* of 1549 and from Aldrovandi's mention of the obelisk in his *Delle statue* publication which, though published in 1556, was compiled in 1550. For the date of 1550 see: Heinrich Ludwig Urlichs, "Uber die Abfassungszeit der *Statue antiche* des Ulisse Aldrovandi" in *Mitteilungen des kaislerlisch deutschen archaeologischen Instituts Römische Abteilung* 4 (1891): 250-251. The mid-sixteenth century discovery of the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk was also later mentioned by Ann Roullet in *Egyptian and Egtianizing Monuments*, 75, cat. 75, who seems to have taken it from Nash's *Pictorial Dictionary*. It was noted again in *La Villa Médicis*, vol. 1, ed. André Chastel (Rome: 1989), 218, cat. 238.

[13]Aldrovrandi, *Delle Statue*, 314; Fauno, *De antiquitatibus*; Fauno, *Delle antichità*, 135v; Ligorio, "Bodleianus", 75v; Mauro, *Le Antichità*, 98.

However, as the obelisk remained at the site of its discovery when these texts were written, there is no information regarding whether it was first acquired by Cardinal de' Medici or another patron.

Whether the obelisk was gifted to Cardinal de' Medici, purchased by him in the Roman antiquities market or acquired in his purchase of the Pincian Hill villa in 1576 are important considerations. Any one of these means of acquisition is plausible, and would certainly have had an impact on the way in which the obelisk was incorporated into the iconographic program of Ferdinando's villa landscape. He must have considered the appropriateness and impact of the obelisk as one of the most important decorative features of his Pincian Hill villa landscape.

In order to establish the details of Ferdinando de' Medici's acquisition of the obelisk for his villa, the larger task of identifying other excavated obelisks, described by sixteenth-century antiquarians as having been discovered in the Campus Martius region, must be undertaken. A number of Roman obelisks are briefly documented in the mid-sixteenth century antiquarian studies of Ulisse Aldrovandi, Lucio Fauno, Andrea Fulvio, Pirro Ligorio and Lucio Mauro. A few of these texts provide slightly more information than others by including, where appropriate, a corresponding discussion of ancient Roman urban, architectural and social history. A large number of the obelisks documented by these antiquarians had merely been excavated and could be identified by describing their location as well as by general details of their size, surface decoration and state of preservation. Other obelisks were given longer historical descriptions because they were believed to be standing in the locations they occupied in antiquity.

During the sixteenth century artists such as Andreas Coner, Étienne Dupérac, Marten van Heemskerk, Pirro Ligorio and Giovanni Battista Montano made drawings which illustrated Roman obelisks.[14] These obelisk representations appeared either as part of sketches recording the urban landscape of Rome, or as an individual depiction in these artists' sketchbooks or antiquities catalogues. The images help to clarify subtle differences between similar obelisks described in contemporary written sources. In addition, the inclusion of selected obelisks in a collective context helps identify their hierarchy as individual public monuments as well as highlight differences in their size and surface decoration. Only in 1589, however, when Nicholas van Aelst produced his series of engravings of Roman obelisks in sixteenth-century display settings, could the relocation of some of these objects be identified by later historians. For some of these obelisks, additional text accompanied the image, making it clear if an earlier antiquarian description corresponded to a van Aelst engraving. However, this clarification did not occur for the Villa Medici obelisk.

By 1589 a total of twenty obelisks had been discovered in the city of Rome and a large number of these had been selected by the Papacy to act as visual markers at important public and religious sites.[15] This elaborate project, part of an urban renewal scheme undertaken by Pope Sixtus V from 1586, was designed to link each of the seven station churches of Rome to one another through a new layout of direct and joining avenues.[16] This scheme undoubtedly heightened the

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[14]Andreas Coner, Codex Coner, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 40 and 41; Étienne Dupérac, *I vestigi dell' antichità di Roma*, (Rome: 1575), 36 and 40; Marten van Heemskerck, Sketchbooks, 2 vols., Preussicher Kulturbesitz , Kupferstichkabinett, 79D2 (vol. 1) and 79D2a (vol. 2), Staatliche Museen, Berlin, vol. 1: 1r, 2r, 11r, 13r, 63r; vol. 2: 7r, 9r, 22v, 50v, 72r. Also published by Christian Huelsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerk*, 2 vols. (Berlin: 1913-1916), vol. 1: 1, 2, 11 and 14,; and vol. 2: 9, 11, 28, 66 and 101; Pirro Ligorio, "Codex Bodleianus," ; Pirro Ligorio, "Codex Ursinianus," MS Vat. Lat. 3439, Bibliotheca Vaticana, Rome, 2v, 3, 3v, 4, 4v, 5, 5v, 6v, 7; Giovanni Battista Montano, Sketchbook, Vol. 3, Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 40 and 41.

[15]See Ann Roullet's "Catalogue Raisonné" in *Egyptianising Monuments*, 67-85.

[16]See Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XXII, trans. by R.F. Kerr, (London: 1950), 218 and 263.

awareness of all Roman patrons to the importance of obelisks as a decorative tool, and especially to those whose political careers were tied to the Vatican. Even Nicholas Van Aelst and his contemporary, Giovanni Maggi, were inspired to make collections of obelisk engravings in order to illustrate this new and important decorative phenomenon.[17] They now not only had an appealing variety of urban environments in which to set their illustrations of Rome's historical obelisks, but could also market their images to patrons and collectors outside this city.[18]

At the same time, an obelisk had been used as an integral part of an iconographic program in a private Roman garden landscape. Between 1581 and 1586 Ciriaco Mattei's villa on the Celian Hill was under construction and the obelisk which had once adorned the Capitoline Hill was incorporated into the decorative program of this garden landscape.[19] This use of an historical obelisk to decorate a Roman late-sixteenth century private garden may have inspired Ferdinando de' Medici to employ such an historical object in his own garden. The Villa Mattei and its extensive display of classical antique sculpture directly corresponded to the type of environment and decoration planned for the Villa Medici. Ferdinando must have monitored Ciriaco Mattei's progress to keep abreast of emerging decorative trends which he might wish to incorporate into his plans for his own villa.

Due to Sixtus V's urban renewal scheme, obelisks were understood primarily as visual markers employed to emphasise important circulation axes, religious centres and their physical relationship throughout the city (fig. 108). This idea

[17]For Giovanni Maggi see Gianfrancesco Bordini, *De rebus praeclare gestis a Sixto V pont. max. carmina*, (Rome: 1588).
[18]For the patronage of images in the sixteenth century see Dirk Jacob Jansen, "Antiquarian Drawings and Prints as Collector's Items," *Journal of the History of Collections*, 4/2, (1994): 183.
[19]For a comprehensive study of the Villa Mattei design and decoration see E. B. MacDougall, "The Villa Mattei and the Development of the Roman Garden Style", (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970).

was different to the general understanding of the purpose of obelisks in antiquity as visualised by Pirro Ligorio in the middle of the sixteenth century. His interpretations, though varied, focused on the use of obelisks as decorative features placed along a *spina* within the architectural confines of the ancient Roman circus (figs. 109 & 110).[20] In addition, more isolated occurrences, such as the obelisk used to adorn the central piazza of Tiber island or the two which marked the entrance to the Mausoleum of Augustus, (figs. 111 and 112) were also acknowledged.[21]

Thus Egyptian obelisks in an ancient Roman historical context were understood either as static decorative centrepieces around which various activities of classical Roman public entertainment took place (fig. 113) or as isolated monuments used to highlight specific architectural features of the city. Sixtus V's use of obelisks as part of an overall urban development program took these ideas one step further. By placing obelisks in the centre of a piazza before a church or another urban focal point he reflected the idea of an obelisk as a public monument as well as being a central feature which would be circulated around in front of the building. This overall system, which linked one obelisk to another within the city, meant that they functioned as a collective unit which added a new dimension to their importance. They now stood as independent ornaments and as part of a collection which enhanced the civic identity of Rome.

The setting for the Capitoline obelisk at the Villa Mattei took the form of an ancient Roman circus.[22] The overall environment was designed with a

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[20]Pirro Ligorio, Codex Ursinianus, 52r, 54v, 55v, 57r, 57v, 58v, 60v, 61r, 62v, 63 r, 63v, 64r & 64v. There are also further examples of Ligorio's understanding of obelisk use in antiquity in his *Antiquae Urbis imago*, (Rome: 1561).

[21]For the obelisk on Tiber Island see Pirro Ligorio, Ms. 839, Ital. 1129, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 305. For a reconstructive illustrations of the Mausoleum of Augustus see Pirro Ligorio, Codex Ursinianus, 34r.

[22]For a detailed study of this area of the Villa Mattei garden see E.B. MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues and Flowers* (Dumbarton Oaks: 1994), 127-140. This is a revision of her article, "A

physically terraced exedra and planted barriers were employed to reflect the overall architectural plan and spatial atmosphere of this kind of structure (fig. 114). Ciriaco Mattei, a contemporary Roman antiquities patron to Ferdinando de' Medici, replicated a well-known type of Roman imperial architecture and specifically evoked an historical impression which could be related to the Circus Flaminius in which the Capitoline obelisk had been situated in antiquity.[23] By doing this he also made a direct reference to an area of the ancient city believed to have been dominated by the palaces of his family.[24] As a result, Ciriaco Mattei's circus design effectively linked the contemporary importance of his family to the important social status of his dynasty in antiquity.

Ciriaco's obelisk was placed at the centre of the Villa Mattei circus in an area that would typically have been occupied by a central *spina*. Around the obelisk were other decorative sculptural objects which included the four satyr sculptures, a portrait bust of Alexander the Great placed in a niche at the crest of the exedra, and four herms positioned in a row at the opposite end.[25] This decorative composition formed a memorial in honour of Alessandro Mattei, Ciriaco's father with the bust of Alexander the Great making a clear association with the name Alessandro.[26] As the obelisk was a gift from the city of Rome to Ciriaco, in honour of his father's political service as a long-term member of the *Conservatori*, he must have seen the placement of the obelisk in his garden as an opportunity to incorporate it into a memorial specifically designed to glorify his own social importance through his familial legacy.[27]

Circus, a Wild Man and a Dragon: Family History and the Villa Mattei," *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983): 121-130.

[23]MacDougall, *Fountains*, 133.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., 138-139.

[27]Ibid., 139. The reason for its acquisition is deduced by MacDougall as being due to the fact that Ciriaco was not a member of the Conservatori until 1584, while the obelisk had been a gift made in 1581.

The personal and familial evocations embodied in the garden setting of the Capitoline obelisk at the Villa Mattei must have been known to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici and his contemporaries. The Mattei obelisk was in place by 1586 and Ferdinando would have been able to consider the social and historical implications of its specific thematic function in the Villa Mattei garden before he erected his own obelisk at his Pincian Hill villa a few years later.[28] By this time, however, Ferdinando had also established a personal connection to one of Pope Sixtus V's projects for urban renewal through his involvement in the relocation of the Vatican obelisk.

In 1585 Cardinal de' Medici was already part of the commission organised to orchestrate the moving of the Vatican obelisk from the back of St. Peter's to the Piazza at its entrance.[29] As part of the commission, he and his colleagues were to determine which artist or engineer had the best method for the removal, transport and re-erection of this obelisk. Several of the proposals submitted to the committee were from people connected to the Cardinal but the project was eventually awarded to the architect Domenico Fontana, who was under the direct patronage of the Pope.[30] Though none of Ferdinando de' Medici's favourites were selected to carry out this project, it is quite clear that the Cardinal was surrounded by individuals who were capable of erecting a small obelisk in his own private garden and who understood the significance and importance of such an endeavour.

The exact date when the obelisk was erected in the garden of the Villa Medici is uncertain. The first engraving which depicts the obelisk at the Villa Medici was produced in 1589. It is therefore difficult to date precisely its installation, and

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[28]Ibid., 127, n. 1.
[29]Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 22, app. 2.
[30]Ibid., 250.

clues to this date can only be sought through a study of the intended purpose of the obelisk and its corresponding surroundings in the garden.

As there was much attention centred around obelisks in Rome at this time, the purpose of the Villa Medici obelisk may correspond to more detailed aspects of the established or emerging exhibition criteria already mentioned. In connection with these developments a detailed chronological framework for these late-sixteenth-century obelisk display principles might suggest a possible time frame by which the obelisk was erected at the Villa Medici. Further information regarding the identity of this object in historical documentation and its importance in relation to other similar works may also aid in understanding how this artefact corresponds to the public perception of such objects at the end of the sixteenth century, including the decorative program of the Pincian Hill garden, and Ferdinando de' Medici's patronage of antique decorative works in general.

In Ulisse Aldrovandi's 1556 publication *Delle statue* he states,

> Dinanzi à S. Mauro si vede un bello obelisco antico di pietra mischia rossiccia, ma non molto grande, & vi sono descritte lettere Egittie, cioè figure d' animali; che à questo modo quelle genti anticamente scrivevano. Un' altro obelisco simile si vede steso (sic) in terra presso la porta della chiesa della Minerva, che fu ritrovano sotto terra pochi anni à dietro, dentro quella casetta presso la quale si vede stare.[31]

The first obelisk he describes, that discovered near the church of San Macuto, was later erected in the piazza before the church entrance as depicted in one of van Aelst's engravings (fig. 115). The other, found at the back of S. Maria sopra Minerva, was, as he noted, generally accepted as the obelisk erected in Ferdinando de' Medici's garden.

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[31] Aldrovandi, *Delle Statue*, 314.

The excavated location of the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk is included in Lucio Mauro's text which precedes and accompanies Aldrovandi's as part of the same publication. Mauro states

> Dall' altra parte della via lata fu il tempio di Minerva, dove anco hoggi (sic) S. Maria della Minerva chiamano: nel giardin di questa Chiesa si veggono anchora (sic) vestigij (sic) del tempio antico; nel quale pose Pompeio i titoli delle vittorie sue. Dietro à questa chiesa su la porta picciola (sic), che è presso l' altar maggiore, si vede in terra un obelisco piccolo antico, simile à quello, che è presso à S. Machuto (sic).[32]

Just from these two descriptions and the comparison mentioned in van Aelst's Villa Medici engraving it is clear that the obelisk excavated at the back of S. Maria sopra Minerva conforms to van Aelst's mention of its similarity to that of San Macuto. But as there is no documentation about this acquisition by Cardinal de' Medici, two surviving documents which contradict this idea must also be considered as part of the analysis for determining the history and origins of the obelisk displayed in the gardens of Ferdinando's Roman villa.

The contract of sale of the Pincian Hill Villa, owned previously by Cardinal Giovanni Ricci, to Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici on 9 January 1576 does not mention an obelisk being included in the purchase.[33] However, two documents made as part of the records for the *Congregatio super viis pontibus et fontibus*, in the State Archives in Rome note that Cardinal Giovanni Ricci had been offered an ancient obelisk to be relocated to this villa garden.[34] The later of the two documents, dated 1569, states that an obelisk lying in the street near the church of S. Rocco was acquired in this year by Cardinal Ricci for his *viridarium*.

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[32]Mauro, *Le antichità*, 98.

[33]For a copy of this contract see: Collegio dei Notari Capitolini atti campani, prot. 434, Rome, Archivio di Stato. Extracts were also published by Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, 3, (Rome: Quasar edition, 1990), 115-116.

[34]Congregatio super viis pontibus et fontibus, vol. 1, Rome, Archivio di Stato, 4 and 23v. These were also published by d' Onofrio, *Gli obelischi*, 235, n. 5 and 237, n. 6.

The first document, dated 31 July 1567, reads

> pretentibus amoveri agugliam existentem e conspectu S. Rocchi propter disoccupationem vie pubblicae et ammatonatum patientem detrimentum causa dicte aguglie pro videatur de eius amotione et transductionem in plateampopuli prout melius expediens erit.[35]

The second, that of 1569, responds to this request with a note stating that the obelisk "Dono detur Ill.mo et R.mo D.D. Car.li Montepolitiano et rogatur ab omnibus in congratione existen. quod eam transducere faciat ad suum viridarium".[36] This information, though unsubstantiated in the purchase agreement of Cardinal Ricci's Pincian Hill Villa to Ferdiando de' Medici, must also be considered as a possible reference to the obelisk at the Villa Medici, as well as providing a possible answer to the question of its acquisition.[37]

In Lucio Fauno's description of the Campus Martius, included in his 1552 publication *Delle antichità della città di Roma*, he describes the immediate surroundings of the Mausoleum of Augustus between the strada Flaminia and the river Tiber as forming part of this antique Roman urban region.[38] By mentioning specifically that the church of S. Rocco lies near to the Tiber boundary of the Campus Martius, this building and its immediate surroundings must, like S.

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[35]Congregatio, 4 and d'Onofrio, *Gli obelischi*, 235, n. 5.

[36]Congregatio, 23v and d'Onofrio, *Gli Obelischi*, 237, n. 6.

[37]D'Onofrio, *Gli obelischi*, 235, effectively suggests that the obelisk was acquired by Ferdinando de' Medici as part of his purchase of the Villa by assuming its earlier acquisition by Cardinal Ricci. Roullet in *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments*, 75, cat. 75, gives 1576 as the date for Cardinal de' Medici's (his name incorrectly printed as Federico) acquisition of the obelisk, but she does not state the source of her information. An earlier date of 1574 is given in *La Villa Médicis*, vol. 1, ed. Chastel, 218, cat. 238, but no source is noted. Andres, in *Villa Medici*, vol. 2, n. 629 does not suggest a date for the acquisition of the obelisk, but merely states his belief that it was acquired by the Cardinal de' Medici and not by Alessandro de' Medici who later resided at the villa.

[38]Fauno, *Delle antichità*, 124v, initially describes the Campus Martius as the "città piana, che è tra questi colli e 'l fiume verso Ponente." He then continues by stating that, " il Campo Martio era tutto quello spation piano, che gran tempo fu fuori della città, perche il muro cominciava presso à Ponte Sisto al dritto del muron di Trastevere, e si stendeve di lungo a dritto àritrovare il Quirinale."

Maria sopra Minerva, also have been considered in the mid-sixteenth century as part of the same area of ancient urban topography.[39]

In Fauno's text the area around S. Maria sopra Minerva, which included the Pantheon and the Baths of Agrippa, had been isolated further and was noted as forming part of a more localised zone within the Campus Martius described as the "Campo di Agrippa."[40] But as no other later mid-sixteenth-century written resource or topographical map makes this same subtle territorial distinction, both the churches of S. Maria sopra Minerva and S. Rocco can be understood as being situated within the boundaries of the Campus Martius region.

The obelisk, identified as lying in the street near the church of S. Rocco, and mentioned by Ulisse Aldrovandi, Andrea Fulvio, Pirro Ligorio and Lucio Mauro, is consistently described as being broken.[41] This physical detail corresponds with the description in the Roman state archive documents regarding the presentation of this obelisk to Cardinal Giovanni Ricci in 1569.[42] In addition, an engraving of the Mausoleum of Augustus as the Soderini gardens, made by Étienne Dupérac in 1575, shows large fragments of an obelisk lying in the street next to this monument on the far right of the page (fig. 116).[43] The poor condition of this S. Rocco obelisk is, in fact, one of many indications that this was not the obelisk acquired by Cardinal de' Medici as the Villa Medici obelisk which survives today in the Boboli gardens in Florence has never been broken.

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[39]Ibid., 126. "Da l'altra parte, che ètra la strada Flaminia, e'l Tevere, presso la chiesa di S. Rocco, dove si dice hoggi Augusta, edificò Augusto il suo meraviglioso Mausoleo."
[40]Ibid., 125. "Scrive Strabone, che à lato al Campo Martio v'era un altro campo non cosi grande, il quale vogliono, che fusse il campo non cosi grande, il quale vogliono, che fusse il campo di Agrippa dove costui edificio il Panteone, e le Terme sue."
[41]Aldrovandi, *Delle statue*, 315; Fulvio, *De antiquitatibus Urbis Romae*, 130v; Fulvio, *Delle antichità*, 165v; and Mauro, *Le antichità*, 94.
[42]See note 35.
[43]Dupérac, *I Vestigi dell' antichità*, pl. 36.

In Lucio Fauno's collection of obelisk descriptions he mentions that the two obelisks discovered in the area of the Mausoleum of Augustus were identical.[44] Pirro Ligorio shows one of these in his *Libro della antichità*, among the illustrations which accompany his text.[45] The obelisk, which he labels "B," appears on a page with several other similar illustrations, each with either a slightly different physical composition, mode of presentation or surface detailing (fig 117). In Ligorio's illustration of the obelisk found lying broken in the street near the church of S. Rocco it appears in its complete monolithic form and, unlike that next to it on the page, its surfaces are shown to be unornamented with hieroglyphs. By direct contrast, the Villa Medici obelisk had all of its surfaces covered with hieroglyphic carvings and further, on March 11, 1587 a Papal *avviso* notes that the S. Rocco obelisk had been moved to be re-erected before the church of S. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline hill.[46]

Clearly the Villa Medici obelisk could not have been that given to Cardinal Giovanni Ricci in 1569. Ricci obviously never acted on the presentation of the S. Rocco obelisk to him and as a result Cardinal de' Medici could not have acquired his obelisk with the purchase of the Pincian Hill villa. In addition, the physical similarities between the Villa Medici obelisk and that which had been raised in the piazza before S. Macuto do suggest that they might have been used together in antiquity and as a result would have been found near to one another in the city. Indeed, further visual evidence not only reinforces a connection between these two obelisks, but also firmly supports the idea that the Cardinal's

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[44]Fauno, *Delle antichità*, 126v. "Presso à questo Mausoleo furono uguali obelischi, che ogn' un di loro era di XVII. piedi e mezzo, l' un si vede rotto su la strada fra questo luogo, e'l Tevere, l'altro è dietro la chiesa di S. Rocco."

[45]Labelled as "B" in Ligorio, Codex Bodleianus, 76.

[46]"Si fauno i fondamenti alla falda dell' Esquilino per inarborarvi quell' obelisco, che dal mausoleo d'Augusto a San Rocco fu condotto là per questo, et starà di rimpetto a punto alla basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore." Urbino Lat. 1055, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 95B. Also published by J.A.F. Orbaan, "La Roma di Sisto V negli Avvisi," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 33 (1910): 293.

obelisk and that found at the back of S. Maria sopra Minerva are one and the same.

Some of the first detailed visual records of the obelisks described in antiquarian texts were made by Pirro Ligorio and appear in a mid-sixteenth century catalogue owned by the Farnese librarian Fulvio Orsini.[47] These were either copies of images included in Ligorio's multi-volume historical manuscript or copies of separate original works by other artists. A few of the folio pages in this catalogue are devoted to ancient Egyptian artefacts. Among these images are illustrations of several obelisks and these include both that of the Villa Medici (fig. 118) and of S. Macuto (figs. 119 & 120). Though both obelisk illustrations are of a similar size, page format and show a consistent level of attention to their surface decoration, the Villa Medici obelisk only has two sides represented while the images of the S. Macuto obelisk show all four. In addition, the S. Macuto obelisk is represented as being erect, elevated on four stone blocks. The depiction of the Medici obelisk suggests that it, like the antiquarian descriptions of the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk, lay on the ground, only partially visible at the time these drawings were made. In fact, if the S. Rocco obelisk is not a candidate for being that erected at the Villa Medici, the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk is the only other Roman obelisk to meet the established criteria of being discovered in Campus Martius region as noted by Nicholas van Aelst in his 1589 engraving.

During the middle of the sixteenth century, Roman historical obelisks were categorised in antiquarian studies by location, history, size and surface decoration. These established criteria were later challenged and restructured, through the use of obelisks in the urban development projects of Pope Sixtus V.

[47]Ligorio, Codex Ursinianus, 2v, 3, 3v, 4, 4v, 5, 5v, 6v, 7. This collection of illustrations has been dated between 1564-1565 and 1570. See Erna Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities* (London: 1965), 140.

As a direct result of Sixtus's choice to employ historical obelisks to define his urban redevelopment of Rome, all such works were then embodied with a new religious association and significance. Where obelisks could have only been graded in the past by an analysis of their general appearance, Sixtus V founded a new hierarchy for these antiquities. At the pinnacle was the obelisk which the Pope moved from the back of St. Peter's and re-erected, on the 10th of September 1586, in the square before its entrance.

This grand public gesture by the Pope must have somewhat overshadowed the personal importance which Ciriaco Mattei tried to attach to the Capitoline obelisk. As obelisks were an increasingly important organisational tool in establishing the decorative infrastructure for the urban renewal of Rome, their private acquisition in the antiquities market must have been difficult, if not impossible. Due to the new association between these large-scale remains and the Pope's public schemes, the church was the only likely candidate to lay claim to the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk later owned by Cardinal de' Medici.

A direct result of the Pope's use of historical obelisks for his planned urban renewal was that the personal ownership of an obelisk by a cardinal would provide an extremely potent symbolic connection between its owner and the Papacy of Sixtus V as well as to the Vatican in general. It was well documented that the Pope wished to link the churches of S. Maria del Popolo and S. Trinità, a site adjacent to the south-western boundary of Ferdinando's Pincian Hill property, by constructing an avenue physically to connect these two churches (fig. 121). Cardinal de' Medici's villa would have been a prominent architectural landmark along this main axial artery and it must be for this reason that the Pope wished the Cardinal to make a substantial contribution toward the cost and construction of this scheme.[48] In fact, it may have been the Pope's eagerness for

[48]Andres, *Villa Medici*, 275-277.

this work to be undertaken that could explain Ferdinando de' Medici's acquisition of the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk. It is entirely possible that the obelisk was given to Ferdinando to encourage him to agree to collaborate on this ambitious project.

The fact that Cardinal de' Medici did not consider the use of an obelisk in his early plans for altering the design and decoration of the Villa Medici is a crucial indication of the obelisk being a later addition to Ferdinando's antiquities collection. Comparisons between Jacopo Zucchi's early *scrittoio* fresco of the garden façade of the Villa Medici (fig. 2) and the later 1602 engraving by Domenico Buti (fig. 3), that made in 1620 by Matthieus Grueter (fig. 122), and that of 1667 by Giovanni Battista Falda (fig. 123), all show how the Cardinal's later acquisitions of antique sculpture enhanced the initial decorative program for the villa exterior without requiring drastic physical alterations to the intended overall plans for this site. This is especially evident in the display of sculpture set into the garden facade of the casino, acquired with the della Valle-Capranica collection in 1584 and with the architectural framework built along the northern enclosing wall of the garden, constructed as the display setting for the group of Niobid figures, bought by the Cardinal in 1583.[49] Ferdinando's obelisk seems also to have been incorporated into the established design infrastructure.

Only through the generosity of the Pope in making a gift of the obelisk could Ferdinando de' Medici effectively employ such a direct symbol of Sistine Rome as a decorative device in his villa landscape. Though there is no surviving documentary evidence to confirm that this was how Cardinal de' Medici came into possession of his obelisk, two papal avvisi of March 1587 do note that Pope Sixtus V was working to recover obelisks in the Campus Martius region and it is

[49]For the purchase of the Capranica-della Valle collection see Andres, *Villa Medici*, 217. For the acquisition of the Niobid figures see Erna Mandowsky, "Some Notes on the Early History of the Medicean 'Niobides'," *Gazzette des Beaux-Arts* 41(1953): 251-253.

possible that he was given the obelisk on account of his interest.[50] The Pope would probably not have considered the object suitable for use in his large-scale projects as it was only forty five feet in height. However, there was nothing to stop him employing such a find to encourage an ambitious cardinal to help him with a significant part of his plan. It is surely significant that the date of some of the Papal excavations in the Campus Martius and the date of van Aelst 1589 illustration of the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk in situ at the Villa Medici only differ by two years.[51]

Having established that the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk must have been the obelisk erected in the garden of the Villa Medici, and that Ferdinando de' Medici probably acquired it as as a gift from the Pope, the date of its arrival at the villa must fall between 1587 and 1589 as this was, as mentioned, only just after the Pope was conducting excavations in the area of the obelisk's discovery and before van Aelst made his 1589 engraving. But the symbolic significance of Ferdinando's obelisk as part of the Villa Medici garden decoration remains to be analysed. Ferdinando de' Medici must have been mindful of the papal significance in erecting an historic obelisk in his garden at the height of their use by Pope Sixtus V. If he had still been a cardinal when the obelisk was acquired, Ferdinando would certainly utilised this opportunity to make direct symbolic references to his own papal aspirations. However, he did not utilise the obelisk in this manner and instead his decorative composition only made direct references to Ferdinando's father, Cosimo, who had been Grand Duke of Tuscany

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[50]An avviso of 14 March 1587 reads, "S'è comminciato a dare un tafgio in Campo Martio per dissotterrare (sic) un altro obelisco, ch' era in quel foro et forza sarà di mandare a terra alcune case, in quel contorni per questo." Another avviso of 21 March 1587 also states, "I manuali rendono in Campo Marzo in terreno alla fossa fatta da loro per disotterrare (sic) l' obelisco, che si scrisse con le precidenti, perche l'andavano discovrendo (sic) tutto in pezzi et cotto dal fuoco." Urbino Lat. 1055, Rome Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 101 and 113. These documents were also published by Orbaan, *Archivio della Società Romana*, 293-294.

[51]For the study of Ferdinando and the connecting S. Maria del Popolo-S. Trinità avenue see note 48.

until his death in 1574, and also to his brother Francesco, Grand Duke until his death in 1587.

Immediately to the south of the Villa Medici obelisk was a densely planted *bosco*. This was located on an elevated section of landscape retained by an architectural terrace. The terrace, extending east and west across the property, was articulated with a series of seven niches, contained a grotto and also concealed a stair which permitted access to the elevated terrain. Defining the western perimeter of the *bosco* was a long footpath which culminated at the public entrance of the Villa Medici garden. Along this path the garden Nymphaeum could be accessed and the curved northern wall of this enclosure marked the end of the bosco and its elevated landscape.

In Étienne Dupérac's 1577 map of Rome part of the area of the Villa Medici *bosco* is shown as being occupied by the ruins of an ancient Temple of Fortune (fig. 52). These historical remains, already partially covered by Cardinal Ricci, needed to be formally organised in order to complement the rest of Ferdinando de' Medici's plans for the garden. A few years after he purchased the Villa, Cardinal de' Medici thus began to construct a small earthen mound both to conceal these ruins and to house the water works for the garden.[52] The curve of the base of the man-made mound was reflected in the arc of the northern retaining wall for the Cardinal's Nymphaeum and the mound itself rose directly above this at the southern end of the *bosco*.

Even though the *bosco* and its mound were situated on a higher topographic plane to the rest of the garden, the same grid of intersecting axial paths which define the more formal plantings of the Villa Medici landscape were still

[52]For the work on the burial of the ruins, identified as the Acillian Nymphaeum, see Andres, *Villa Medici*, vol. 2, 212, n. 595. For the mound in relation to the water works of the garden see Andres, vol. 1, 288.

employed in this area. As a result, the central north/south garden axis, occupied by the obelisk, aligned with the stairs ascending to the summit of the mound. It is this physical relationship which suggests a connection between these two garden features beyond their being linked under a consistent footprint of garden paths.

In Nicholas van Aelst's Villa Medici obelisk engraving he represents part of the architecture of the retaining terrace for the elevated bosco. Though the terrace ran along the east-west axis of the garden, it was terminated on its eastern boundary by an additional perpendicular extension and this was included in van Aelst's engraving. Its representation offsets the symmetry of his image and suggests that the obelisk had another symbolic function in the Villa Medici garden, beyond its relationship to the goat and ram sculptures already noted as appearing on either side of the obelisk in the 1589 van Aelst engraving.

Unlike the obelisk, in Domenico Buti's 1602 engraving of the Villa Medici, the man- made mound of earth in the bosco is numbered and corresponds with a written description at the bottom of the page.[53] This text states that the mound replicates the form of a Mausoleum. As a theme for sixteenth-century garden decoration the reconstruction of ancient funerary monuments does not seem to have been popular but at the Villa Medici in Pratolino the Cardinal's brother, Francesco, had constructed a small-scale "Monte Parnasso" peopled with sculpted figures of Apollo and the Muses (fig. 124).

In addition to the axial stair which ascended to the summit of the mound, there was also a spiral path which wound its way up through the many cypress trees planted on its surface. This alternative means of ascent gave the *bosco* mound a

[53]"Monte fatto in forma di Mausoleo cinto intorno co. arbori de scipressi in cima del monte vi è una fontana che sale dal condotto antico del acqua Vergine da 125 canne in circa." See also *La Villa Médicis*, vol. 1, 90-91, cat. 73.

distinctive appearance as shown in Giovanni Battista Falda's 1667 engraving of the villa property (fig. 132). As a result, the specific articulation and regularised visual patterning of the program of circulation for the Villa Medici mound does not suggest the same type of random and pastoral setting employed by the Pratolino "Monte Parnasso".

Though the Villa Medici *bosco* mound was also termed as being a "Parnassus" in a surviving maintenance report for the villa of 1607, this interpretation must have been an informal identification which relates back to an earlier iconographic program.[54] The acquisition of antique figural sculptures from the della Valle-Capranica collection meant that the Cardinal would certainly have had enough sculpture to decorate this mound in such a way as to make it unmistakably a "Parnassus." In fact, the decorative theme relating to Apollo which had initially played a significant role in the early iconographic development of the property can only be seen in the central relief carving of the sacrifice of a bull on an antique sarcophagus used as a basin for a fountain on the summit of the mound (fig. 125).[55]

In 1561 Pirro Ligorio published a map of Rome designed to illustrate the density and variety of its ancient architectural fabric.[56] Included in his map were illustrative reconstructions of the Mausolea of Hadrian and Augustus (figs. 126 and 127). Both are circular in their general appearance and are shown as having been planted with trees. Their general forms were terraced and appear as a series of concentric circles which diminish in size on each ascending level. This architectural layering allowed for the projection of terraces which circumscribe

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[54]Andres, *Villa Medici*, vol. 1, 279 and 291 and vol. 2, 212, n. 595 and 222, n. 609. Here Andres makes a reference to a 1607 maintenance report in the State Archives of Florence.
[55]Ibid., vol. 1, 292ff., for the use of the Apollo theme at Ferdinando's villa and vol. 2, 224, n. 615, for the relationship between Apollo and the sacrifice of the bull.
[56]Pirro Ligorio, *Antiquae Urbis imago*, Rome, 1561. The 1773 Lossi reprint appears in, Anthony Gafton, "The Ancient City Restored," in *Rome Reborn: the Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, (Washington D.C.: 1993), 107-109, pl. 88.

each vertical layer and provide a means of moving around the exterior of these structures.

When Giovanni Battista Falda's engraving of the Villa Medici *bosco* mound is compared to the illustration of the Mausoleum of Augustus on Pirro Ligorio's 1561 map unmistakable similarities between these two structures become apparent. Both the Villa Medici mound and the Mausoleum of Augustus are shown as being generously planted with cypress trees and in Ligorio's Mausoleum illustration there is a spiral ascent to the summit which seems to have been imitated on Cardinal de' Medici's mound. In addition to these immediate physical likenesses, and perhaps the most important link between the mound and the mausoleum, is the similar use of obelisks placed to correspond with the primary access to each structure.

The man-made mound, hidden at the back of a densely planted *bosco* and separated from the formally planted landscape terrain, was considerably less obvious than other decorative landscape features of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici's garden. In fact, the almost secretive nature of this landscape monument does not seem to express the same sense of public glorification embodied in the more prominent positioning of the ancient imperial mausolea whose design its physical appearance reflects.

Neither the mound nor the obelisk appear in Jacopo Zucchi's early *scrittoio* frescoed proposals for Ferdinando de' Medici's alterations to his villa. However, if the obelisk was received as a gift from the Pope, it was acquired after Zucchi's proposal and the comencement of the construction of the mound.[57] With this later acquisition, Cardinal de' Medici was able to define an architectural relationship between his *bosco* mound and the Mausoleum of Augustus. But

[57]For an account of this dispute see Andres, *Villa Medici*, 290.

replicating the general appearance of ancient imperial mausolea was not part of Ferdinando's initial program of garden decoration.

With the acquisition of the S. Maria sopra Minerva obelisk Ferdinando de' Medici had clearly changed his mind about the initial iconographic role the *bosco* mound was to play in his garden. What must now be questioned is why Ferdinando de' Medici chose to use specific Medici symbols, relating to his Tuscan familial connections, as decorative devices to surround the obelisk and how these elements were intended to relate, both to the initial decorative iconography and to the unmistakable visual connection between his *bosco* mound and the Mausoleum of Augustus.

When Cosimo de' Medici became Duke of Florence in 1537, succeeding his distant cousin Alessandro, his association to the governing Medici family was weak as it ran only through his mother.[58] This rather tenuous link clearly presented Cosimo with the problem of emphasising his legitimacy for this new governing role. In common with the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Cosimo also utilised visual symbols which associated him with Augustus Caesar. Cosimo, in adopting the *impresa* of Capricorn, thus not only made a symbolic connection between himself and the first Roman emperor, but also linked himself directly to a powerful contemporary European ruler.[59]

Ferdinando's design of the *bosco* mound was, without doubt, made to correspond with his father's symbolic alliance to Augustus. Domenico Buti illustrated a small tempietto-like lattice structure at the summit of the mound (fig. 3). This

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[58]David Roy Wright, "The Medici Villa at Olmo a Castello: Its History and Iconography," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976), 247, 248 and 255.

[59]For Cosimo and the Capricorn device see Paul William Richelson, "Studies in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974). See also Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori* VI, ed. Milanesi, (Florence: Sansoni edition, 1981), 77. "Sotto questa nicchia è un grandissimo pilo, sostenuto da due capricorni grandi che sono una dell' imprese del duca."

building was circular in plan and, as already mentioned, contained a fountain made from an ancient Roman sarcophagus decorated with relief carvings. Being a secluded sanctuary, this delicate structure was one of the most private features of the Villa Medici garden.

While Cardinal de' Medici would have been conscious of the fact that the immediate sculptural surroundings to his obelisk would be, essentially, on public display, the tempietto-like pavilion at the summit of his *bosco* mound was an isolated architectural feature whose densely planted surroundings did not have an obvious invitation for entry. Many of the visitors to the Villa Medici may not have even seen this landscape feature from a distance, as the mound itself, being located as the southern most edge of the elevated *bosco* would have been almost entirely hidden from view within the formally planted areas of landscape to the north of the garden. As a result it may not have been a priority for more than general decorative development in relation to the obelisk while the more visible forms of sculptural decoration must have been considered extremely important in creating an impression of the personal significance of the obelisk to its owner.

The goat and ram figures, represented by Nicholas van Aelst in his 1589 engraving of the Villa Medici obelisk, are not accurately recorded in the 1598 inventory of the Villa Medici antiquities collection. These sculptures, though noted as being made from antique marble, must be among the limited selection of non-antique works on display at the villa, and provide further significant insight into the later phase of decorative and iconographic development of Ferdinando's property.[60] From van Aelst's engraving, the small size of these two animals is reflected in the comparative scale of the trees and potted plants which help define this landscape setting. Though they are not particularly prominent,

[60]For the goat and the ram sculptures see Boyer, *Archeologique*, 266, nos. 287 and 288. These are listed incorrectly as "2 Montoni di marmo nero antico." They appear in van Aelst's 1589 engraving distinctly as a goat and a ram.

their function, as a visual terminus for the main casino-garden axis, means that they occupy an extremely important situation within the garden.

In addition to the goat and ram sculptures, four small tortoises, used as decorative supports to elevate the obelisk slightly above its separate base, appear in van Aelst's engraving. Their forms are only just identifiable. Like the goat and ram figures they are included in the 1598 inventory of the sculpture collection as part of the listing for the obelisk.[61] Tortoises were used occasionally in sixteenth century villa garden decoration but, in general, their scale and individual significance imply greater importance as they were used as more prominent landscape ornaments. At the Villa Medici, however, the tortoises form only a small part of a more complex multi-figural decorative composition which included the obelisk and the goat and ram sculptures.

Ferdinando de' Medici must have been familiar with the large scale garden sculptures of tortoises at Bomarzo near Rome and at the Boboli gardens in Florence. At Bomarzo a larger than life sized tortoise, situated in an area of the garden known as the Sacro Bosco, carries a sculpted figure of fame on its back (fig. 128).[62] At the Boboli gardens, Cardinal de' Medici's father, Grand Duke Cosimo, commissioned from Valerio Cioli a sculpture of a tortoise straddled by a seated nude figure of Morgante, a dwarf in Cosimo's court (fig. 129).[63]

Why tortoises were used as ornamental supports for the Villa Medici obelisk is a fundamental issue. Like the tortoise sculptures at Bomarzo or in the Boboli gardens they may relate to the "Festina Lente" device, another *impresa* adopted

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[61]See note 1.

[62]See Margaretta J. Darnall and Mark S. Weil, "Il Sacro Boscodi Bomarzo: Its 16th-Century Literary and Antiquarian Context," *Journal of Garden History* 4 (1984): 15. The figure on the back of the tortoise was also considered by some to represent Fortune. For this see S. Lang, "Bomarzo," *Architectural Review* 121 (1957): 427.

[63]Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden*, (New Haven and London: 1990), 201.

by Grand Duke Cosimo.[64] Ferdinando himself also later used this motif, as it appears in a drawing for a Venus/Taurus costume design made to be used in the celebrations of his marriage to Christine of Lorraine in 1589.[65] The fact that Ferdinando employed such easily identifiable symbols as part of the ornamental surroundings for his ancient historical obelisk and focal point of his garden must be interpreted as an attempt to establish the obelisk and its surrounding sculpture as a suitable iconographic centrepiece for a Medici villa which had become, by 1587, a Roman outpost for Ferdinando as the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Representations of a goat, a ram and tortoises are only gathered together in a single decorative composition on one other occasion as part of a fountain in the grotto of the animals at the Villa Medici, Castello (fig. 130). The Villa Castello is presented in Vasari's text as having been a central focus for expansion and development by Ferdinando's father with its water supply, distribution and decorative fountains as the focal points for this redevelopment. Vasari especially outlines Cosimo's plans to bring water to the villa by aqueducts or conduits which he had specially commissioned from engineers such as Niccolò Tribolo.[66]

The Grotto of the animals at Castello, carved into the earth under the higher ground plane of the Castello *bosco*, contains three fountains. Each fountain includes a vertically layered composition of a variety of animal forms which had been carved in high relief from a selection of coloured stones. In the centre of each composition one animal acted as a spigot and from its mouth water poured into a basin below. The basins themselves were very much a part of this animal

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[64]Vasari-Milanesi, *Vite*, 8, p. 34. This motif was included on the left pilaster base of a decorative surround for the engraved portrait of Duke Cosimo by Martin Rota, for the title page of Cosimo Bartoli's *Discorsi historici universale*, which had been published in Genoa in 1568. See Karla Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th-18th Centuries*, vol. 1 (Florence: 1981), 449, cat. 27, 81.

[65]See James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as 'Theatrum Mundi'*," (New Haven and London: 1996), 206-207, cat. 23, pl. II.

[66]For an account of the Castello projects and the work of Tribolo see Vasari, *Vite* VI, 72-86. See also Wright, "The Villa Medici at Olmo a Castello."

theme and, though their general forms replicate that of free-standing ancient Roman baths, their feet were sculpted to represent marine animals. Two basins were then further ornamented with sculpted clusterings of other sea objects and creatures.

At the centre of each animal composition, on the main body of the fountains, were dense groupings of land animals and these were placed before and below carvings of incidental landscape features which suggest a pastoral setting. Above this, in the vault of the grotto, were also bronze sculptures of birds.[67] Together with the basin carvings the overall grotto design articulates a stratified hierarchy of animal existence from sea to air. On the main body of each fountain, different selections of land animals had been arranged so that each of the three compositions assumed a subtlely different character. On the central grotto fountain the goat and the ram appear together with two tortoises which had been carved as supports for the basin.

Rather than framing the central lion figure, which acts as the fountain spigot, the goat and ram are part of a secondary composition set just to the right of the central lion. Though the goat and the ram are much smaller in size when compared to some of the other animals types represented, together with the lion they are all placed in the immediate foreground and seem to demand the greatest visual attention. The fact that all three animals are carved from light toned stones enhances their importance, but the direct similarity of colour used to carve only the goat and the lion further distinguishes these two figures as having a special relationship.

In addition to being placed along the frontal ground plane and sharing the colour of their stone, the goat and the lion reliefs are positioned to face each other, and

[67]Lazzaro p. 183 and p. 311, note 58.

this is unlike any of the other animals represented in all three grotto fountains. Their heads, turned toward the entrance of the grotto, seem to imply that whoever crosses the threshold has created their distraction. Other animals in each of the three fountain compositions appear similarly distracted and also turn to gaze in the same direction. For the goat and the lion, however, the dark void that is created between them directs the eye to where their feet have met, because one or both of their forelegs have been raised. In doing this, the lion physically shelters the ram beneath him making the ram part of the more intimate composition of the goat and the lion.

As a symbol of Florence, the central lion must be a reference to this city.[68] As noted by Vasari, the goat or Capricorn was an *impresa* of Cosimo, and its form on this fountain must then relate to the Grand Duke.[69] Francesco de' Medici, Ferdinando's elder brother and Cosimo's heir, was born under the sign of Aries and actively employed the ram motif as a decorative device in his own artistic commissions.[70] Beyond these identifications, the arrangement of their forms as a prominent collective unit illustrate the relationship between the two most important members of the ruling Medici family and the city of Florence as their seat of power over Tuscany.

As part of the composition of the Castello grotto fountain the tortoises which had been carved to form the feet of the Roman bath shaped basin may, like the goat, also relate to Duke Cosimo's use of the "Festina Lente" device which, like the Capricorn, was also favoured by Augustus Caesar.[71] Perhaps for this reason

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[68]See E. Mourlot, "'Artifice naturel' ou 'nature artificelle': les grottes Medicéennes dans la Florence du XVI siécle," *Ville et Campagne dans la littérature Italienne de la Renaissance*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1977), 340.
[69]See note 59.
[70]See Scott J. Schaefer, "The Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence", (Ph.D., Bryn Mawr College, 1976).
[71]Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, vol. 1, trans. by J.C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA. and London: Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1989 edition), 158 and 159.

tortoises had been chosen as appropriate supports for the Villa Medici obelisk, given its relationship to Ferdinando's small-scale re-creation of the Mausoleum of Augustus with the *bosco* mound, as they furthered a connection between this landscape monument and Ferdinando's father.

When the Villa Medici garden is entered from the casino loggia a central stair descends to the terrain of the formally planted landscape. The placement of the stair in relation to the garden paths highlight one axis as the primary link between the casino and the garden. Ferdinando, by positioning his obelisk along this axis, made it an important point of reference in the garden. As the loggia stair descends into a large open piazza, the planted landscape is not immediately accessed, but the visual axis created by the positioning of the obelisk and the placement of a fountain in the piazza continues the line of vision not only linking these features but also the other small-scale surrounding sculptural decoration.[72]

Facing the garden, at opposite ends of Ferdinando's casino loggia, and placed on either side of the casino-garden stair were two large free-standing sculptures of lions (fig. 131). One was an antique and the other carved by Flaminio Vacca from an ancient Roman architectural spoil.[73] The lions appear in Domenico Buti's 1602 engraving of the Villa Medici (fig. 3) and the first written record of them is Vacca's notation in his *Memoria delle arte antiche* publication of 1594.[74] Though these sculptures do not physically compare with the lion in the Castello grotto fountain, their location and the positioning of the goat and ram figures, which terminate the aligning garden axis, establish a relationship, however subtle, between all these forms. Even Giambologna's figure of Mercury, which

[72]The representation of Mercury, as cast in bronze by Giambologna, is perhaps a suggestion that there is important information to be gained about the future of the Medici along this axis of the garden.

[73]Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London: 1981), 247-250.

[74]Flaminio Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della Città di Roma*, in Flaminio Nardini, *Roma antica*, vol. 4, ed. by Antonio Nibby (Rome: 1820), 64 and 75.

may have been part of the earlier iconography related to Apollo directs the eye from the loggia stair to the obelisk and its sculptural surroundings.[75]

Placed at the eastern end of the Villa Medici garden piazza, and on either side of the entry onto the garden path of the casino-garden axis, were two antique Roman free-standing black granite baths. Like the lions these too appeared in Domenico Buti's 1602 engraving of the Villa, but a later engraving by Giovanni-Battista Falda of 1667, showing the garden as it unfolds to its southern boundary, provides a more accurate account of their placement (fig. 123).[76] As with the lions, they can also be linked with the fountains of the Villa Castello grotto where, as noted, the design of the fountain basins in the grotto reflects that of antique Roman free-standing baths. Their large black granite forms would certainly have also attracted the eye to the considerably smaller figures of the goat and the ram which had also been carved from black stone.[77]

Even though the date the obelisk was acquired by Ferdinando de' Medici cannot be determined precisely, it is possible to deduce that it was probably a gift from Pope Sixtus V designed to encourage Ferdinando to contribute toward the urban re-development of Rome. As a result of this analysis, the most likely date by which the obelisk could have arrived at the Villa Medici falls after the Pope's recovery of obelisks in the Campus Martius during 1587, but before its appearance in van Aelst's 1589 engraving. As Cardinal Ricci clearly never acted on the presentation of the obelisk left lying in the street near the church of S. Rocco, and given that most of the implications of Ferdinando's garden iconography in relation to the obelisk relate more to his position as Grand Duke,

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[75]For the Mercury see Andres, *Villa Medici*, vol. 1, 293.
[76]I chose Falda's engraving over Buti's here because Buti confuses this alignment and shows some of the features of this axis, like the baths, to be off centre when they should not be. Instead his image seems to be primarily designed to accommodate an established page size and not to be an accurate representation of the exact configuration of the landscape detail of the villa.
[77]See note 60.

rather than as a Cardinal aspiring to become Pope, it is clear that this object was acquired near to the time when Ferdinando left Rome for Florence in 1587.

The lack of early illustrations of the Villa Medici obelisk in its garden setting and the inconsistent titles used to describe the man-made mountain in the Villa Medici *bosco* also suggest that this object was neither raised nor even considered for use until at least 1587. This being the case, the obelisk and its surrounding sculptures mark a departure by Ferdinando from his established iconography, which had related to Apollo, toward the new role of this villa as a residential outpost for the Tuscan Grand Duke.

As a Cardinal playing an active role in Sixtus V's program for urban renewal, Ferdinando seems to have been able to acquire an ancient historical obelisk that must have been, at 45 feet, considered too small in size to play a role in Sixtus' plans for Rome. Ferdinando was, without doubt, aware of Ciriaco Mattei's setting for his own historical obelisk and he clearly made an attempt to follow Mattei's lead by not only creating a memorial to his father, but, more importantly, doing so by recreating an ancient historical monument in his garden.

The obelisk at the Villa Medici, in fact, defines the relationship between Ferdinando's *bosco* mound and Pirro Ligorio's 1561 re-construction of the Mausoleum of Augustus. But this was only one of the obelisk's functions. The surrounding sculptural decorations placed along this same axis confirm this idea, while also adding to an obvious iconographic link between the decorative motifs used in the design of the central fountain of the grotto of the animals at the Medici Villa Castello. Why such a specific connection was made to an incidental grotto fountain cannot be entirely determined. One can only assume that the selection of motifs, acting as easily identifiable symbols of various members of the Medici family, was copied from the grotto fountain. The placement of the

obelisk on the main casino-garden axis not only ties the garden together with one central visual focus, but with its surrounding sculptures identifies that it was the Medici family and its new lineage which was of foremost importance to Ferdinando after 1587, not his earlier aspirations for the Papal throne.

CHAPTER V

The Villa Medici Niobe Group

On April 8th, 1583 the Florentine Medici court sculptor Valerio Cioli wrote from Rome to Antonio Serguidi, secretary to the Tuscan Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici, about a group of fourteen sculptures which had been recently excavated near the Porta Maggiore on the Lateran Hill in Rome.[1] In his letter Cioli states that this collection of figures represented the story of *Niobe*, and he describes the sculptures as "sono di buona mano." Among these *Niobids*, Cioli also singles out a group of two figures which he says were especially beautiful.[2] Though from this letter Cioli seems to have travelled to Rome to scout for antiquities for Francesco de' Medici, by June 25th this same year the *Niobid* sculptures had been purchased instead by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, the Grand Duke's younger brother.[3]

There is no surviving documentation regarding why these *Niobid* figures were purchased by Ferdinando rather than Francesco de' Medici, but Ferdinando's Pincian Hill villa must have been understood by both patrons as being the most appropriate place for such a group to be exhibited within the overall Medici family property holdings. By allowing Ferdinando to purchase the *Niobid* statues for himself, Francesco helped to embellish an extremely important political

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[1]G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, vol. 3 (Florence: 1840), 451-452, no. CCCLXXXIV.

[2]Ibid., 451. "Sua. Alt. sa che fu trovato quartdici fi[g]ure che sono di buona mano, che rapresenta la storia di Niobe." Earlier in the letter Cioli also says, "La presente è perche fac[c]iate noto a sua Alt. Serma. come io sono ar[r]ivato qua cho (sic) mal tempo e ca (sic) chontinovando(sic); però io non mancho (sic) che io non fac[c]ia diligentia per sadistare a Sua Alt. Serma."

[3]Details of the Niobid purchase were recorded in a letter from Stefano Pernigoni to Hieronimo Varese of June 24th, 1583. Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Lettere Artistiche, Cod. 1, Inserto 33, fol. 300. This was published by Angelo Fabroni, *Dissertazione sulle statue appartenente alla favola di Niobe*, (Florence: 1779), 20 and also later by K.B. Stark, *Niobe und Niobiden*, (Leipzig: 1863), 217-218, n. 2, no. 3. This document was then later published by Erna Mandowsky, "Some Notes on the Early History of the Medicean 'Niobides'," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 41 (1953): 251, n. 5. Here Mandowsky corrects many of the errors she found in both the transcriptions of Fabroni and Stark. The formal purchase agreement was drawn-up on June 25th, 1583 by Hieronimo Varese, and this document was published by Erna Mandowsky, "Some Notes," 254, n. 6.

outpost for the ruling Florentine Medici family. For Ferdinando, who by 1583 must have been seriously considering his future within the political hierarchy of the Vatican, this type of quality sculptural acquisition would certainly enable him to establish crucial associations and comparisons between his antiquities collection and those of other more established and influential Roman patrons.

The *Niobid* sculptures were, as implied by Cioli's remarks, a significant archaeological discovery. As a result, they must have been understood by both Ferdinando and Francesco de' Medici as being best suited for display at a Roman Medici villa. Only in this city did the decoration of private residences specifically centre around antique sculpture collecting. If the *Niobid* figures had been purchased by Francesco and moved to Florence, their impact would, without doubt, have been lessened.[4] Having the *Niobids* on display at the Villa Medici in Rome certainly enriched the decoration of the Pincian Hill Villa considerably, but more important than this was the fact that the presence of these sculptures in Rome meant that they were accessible to the widest selection of artists and antiquarians.

The developing northern European idea of museology which valued systematic visual records of natural, sculptural or practical objects made Rome a new archive of surviving antique materials in the late sixteenth century.[5] As a result, antique sculptures were now valued by patrons who did not own the objects themselves but merely possessed illustrative reproductions of a surviving work.

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[4]There was clearly some sense of competition between Ferdinando and Francesco de' Medici as evidenced by Pierto Usimbardi's actions in the purchase of the *Thorn-puller*. See Glenn M. Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome*, vol. 1(New York: 1976): 217 and Ferdinand Boyer, "Les antiques de la Villa Médicis du XVI au XVIII siècles," *L' Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: comples rendus* (1929): 60-61.

[5]See especially Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art and Technology*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: 1995). See also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs," *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: 1994), 141-145. Though these notions of collecting in the sixteenth century dealt with 'curiosities,' antiquities fell under this characterisation heading at that time.

To own sculptures which could be employed as examples for such patronage was clearly a priority for Roman antiquities patrons if they were to ensure a powerful public image outside of this city. It was no longer an issue of having sculptures mentioned in unpublished manuscripts like those of Pirro Ligorio, but instead the later collections of engravings paralleled the importance of receiving a mention in a text-based published work like Ulisse Aldrovrandi's *Delle Statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono* of 1556.[6] With Ferdinando de' Medici's acquisition of the *Niobids* in 1583, the potential for the subsequent popularity of these works among patrons in northern Europe would not only widen his profile as a wealthy and powerful cardinal, but any resulting influence within the Vatican would also be a benefit to Francesco as the ultimate political head of the ruling Florentine Medici family.

The story of *Niobe* and the loss of her fourteen children at the hands of Apollo and Diana forms part of book VI of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[7] Ovid writes that the event came about as an act of revenge in response to *Niobe* making jealous remarks toward Apollo and Diana's mother, the goddess Leto. He describes how *Niobe's* words and actions provoked and angered Leto and could not be ignored or left unchallenged. It was, according to Ovid, *Niobe's* persistent boasting about her good fortune at having a large family and her attempts to discourage the worship of Leto which brought about a need for revenge. In response to *Niobe's* words and actions Leto's two children were sent to defend her and execute a suitable punishment. Their task was to take the lives of each of *Niobe's* children and, at least in Ovid's version of the story, leave her with none.[8]

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[6]Ulisse Aldrovrandi, *Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case si veggono*, in Lucio Mauro, *L' Antichita della Cittàdi Roma* (Venice: 1556).
[7]Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 6, trans. by Frank Justus Miller and revised by G.P. Goold (Cambridge, MA. and London,: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1994 reprint of the 1977 edition), 299-311.
[8]Ibid., 300-303.

As Ovid relates the *Niobe* tragedy it reads as a sequence of events with the deaths of *Niobe's* children occurring separately. First, Ovid describes how *Niobe's* sons, some on horseback and others wrestling on the ground, were all shot dead by the arrows of Apollo and Diana.[9] Most of her sons were described as being killed individually, while two others were said to have been struck down by the same arrow.[10] *Niobe's* daughters, arriving on the scene with their mother soon after, were each shot dead themselves when they were just beginning to mourn over their brothers deaths.[11] *Niobe*, present to witness only the second part of this tragedy had, according to Ovid, sheltered her youngest daughter with her arms and begged that she be spared. As she spoke however, this daughter slid from her grasp having already been fatally struck by an arrow.[12]

The *Niobe* tragedy seems to have been regularly employed to decorate antique Roman sarcophagi and was clearly an appropriate subject for funerary objects.[13] Surviving larger-scale sculptures representing this group, however, were less common and the Elder Pliny in volume 36 of his *Natural History* is the only ancient author to mention the existence of such a group.[14] Described as ornamenting the temple of Apollo Sosius these figures were not only large in scale, but must also have been highly regarded as Pliny guessed that they were either the works of Scopas or Praxiteles.[15] Though it is uncertain whether Ferdinando associated Pliny's mention of such a group with the figures he purchased in 1583, by 1638 this association was clearly documented by François Perrier in his *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem*

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[9]Ibid., 303-307.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid., 309.
[12]Ibid.
[13]The Wilton House Niobid sarcophagus relief panel, discussed later in this chapter is one example.
[14]Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, vol. 10, trans. by D.E. Eichholz (Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1989 reprint of 1962 edition), 21.
[15]Ibid., 23.

invidiam evase publication, on an engraving of the entire collection of Ferdinando's *Niobid* figures (fig. 133).[16]

In terms of its subject and quality the *Niobe Group* made a fundamental contribution to Ferdinando de' Medici's Roman antiquities collection. As many of Ferdinando's antique sculptures, acquired around 1583 and employed to decorate the Pincian Hill villa, came from existing Roman collections established during the first half of the sixteenth century, a newly discovered group of antique figures was significant.[17] As the illustrations and/or historical studies compiled by people like Jean-Jacques Boissard, Pirro Ligorio and Marten van Heemskerck during the early and mid-sixteenth century only identified these works with Ferdinando's predecessors, the newly discovered *Niobe Group*, was among a limited selection of sculptures at the Pincian Hill villa which could only be identified with Ferdinando de' Medici as the collector.[18]

Though the *Niobe Group* was acquired four years prior to Ferdinando's return to Florence in 1587, these sculptures were not documented as having been formally arranged in his Roman villa garden until 1598, when they were recorded in the earliest surviving inventory of the sculptural decoration for this site.[19] As a result, the display of the *Niobe Group* is one of the final decorative features of the Villa Medici garden to have been put in place during Ferdinando's lifetime.

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[16]François Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, (Rome and Paris: 1638).

[17]By 1583 Ferdinando de Medici's antiquities collection already included works from the earlier collections of Giovanni Girolamo Rossi, Bishop of Pavia, Sebastiano Gualtieri, Bishop of Viterbo, Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, the Cesi family, the Capranica and della Valle families as well as from the Miganelli family. See Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, vol. 3, (Rome: Quasar edition, 1990), 116-122, especially 121 and 122; and Andres, *Villa Medici*, 216-218. Even though the della Valle/Capranica sculptures, which make up a large part of Ferdinando's collection, were not moved to the villa until 1584, the negotiations for their purchase had none the less been on going from 1579 (as discussed in chapter 2) and thus these works must also be counted under heading addressed above.

[18]Andres, *Villa Medici*, vol. 1, 217-218.

[19]See Appendix, nos. 346-359 or Ferdinand Boyer, "Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)," *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33, (1929): 268.

The reasons why their formal exhibition took so long to finalise is obscure, but may have resulted from the extensive restoration many of the *Niobid* figures required.

Without doubt, the practice of extensively restoring individual antique sculptural fragments in order to produce a single dramatic collective composition needs to be studied in greater detail in order to explain the significance of its use as a decorative tool at Ferdinando's villa. As an exhibition phenomenon this practice was unprecedented among the more conservative and established criteria for private Roman antique sculpture display, and, as a result, the *Niobe Group* collective exhibition clearly demands further attention if the significance of these figures among the other Villa Medici antiquities is to be determined beyond Cioli's early statements about the group.

This chapter will examine the Villa Medici *Niobe Group* in two ways; firstly the manner in which the group was acquired and arranged for display by Ferdinando de' Medici will be explored, and, secondly, the group will be related to other multi-figure sculpture groups known and exhibited in Rome and elsewhere during the sixteenth century. In doing this I will establish an understanding of the general significance these figures had in Ferdinando's antiquities collection as a whole and define how and why the character of this group of sculptures evolved for the purposes of collective and individual display at the Villa Medici.

My objective is to determine the precise impact of the *Niobe Group* on Ferdinando de' Medici's antique sculpture collection and to understand the significance of these works as part of both individual and collective exhibitions. I will study the individual character of particular *Niobid* sculptures and then I will look at the various contexts in which the statues were eventually placed. Only then is it possible to understand why some works were considered

unsuitable for exhibition with the group, but were employed instead to decorate alternate landscape or architectural settings. In addition I will outline how new physical criteria emerged as part of the idea for a collective *Niobid* display and explain why this enabled sculptures from other areas of Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection to be employed as *Niobids*. By examining in detail some aspects of the restoration of the *Niobids*, their arrangement and formal exhibition and the individual significance of certain statues associated with this group, we can hope to reach a comprehensive conclusion about Ferdinando's decorative motives for his 1583 purchase and the importance of the antiquities decorating his Roman villa in general.

Although restored to work together as a single dramatic free-standing scene, the group of sculptures discovered in 1583 did not all become part of a collective *Niobid* display. Some of the *Niobids* were, in fact, separated from the original configuration of the group and replaced by other works in Ferdinando's existing and growing collection before the collective display had been established in the garden.[20] By 1588 a sculpture of a rearing horse had also been added to these figures, and it appears in a following catalogue entry in an inventory recording some plaster casts of the *Niobids* which had been shipped to Florence that year (fig. 134).[21] Having been discovered and purchased separately to the rest of the *Niobids*, the inclusion of this horse in the garden display is the first clear indication that Ferdinando was willing to structure his collective *Niobid* exhibition to conform to a set of decorative ideas, which were not related to maintaining the purity of the original figure grouping of 1583.[22]

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[20]Mandowsky, "Some Notes," 259-262.

[21]See Edgar Müntz, *Les Collections d' antiques formées par les Médicis au XVI siècle*, (Paris: 1895), 66 for the *Inventario generale della Guardaroba del... Cardinale Ferdinando dei Medici, poi Granduca di Toscana dal 1571 al 1588*, No. 79, fol. 34 *Uscita*; and 152 for the *Inventario generale della Guardaroba del... Cardinale don Ferdinando di Medici Granduca di Toscana dal 1587 al 1589*, No. 152.

[22]Stark, *Niobe*, 222. See also Guido A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture*, vol. 1, (Rome: 1961), 125-126, cat. 87.

Eleven of Ferdinando's *Niobid* sculptures were included in books three and four of Giovanni Battista Cavalieri's 1594 edition of his *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae* (figs. 135-145).[23] As a possible visual record of which sculptures were part of Ferdinando's 1583 purchase, Cavalieri's engravings provide important information. Included among his images was a pair of figures representing two of *Niobe's* sons, known as the *Wrestlers* (fig. 137).[24] In addition, there was also a sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* (fig. 135).[25] These works were each singled out with a special mention in a letter of June 24th, 1583 written by Stefano Pernigoni to Hieronimo Varese, the man responsible for negotiating this antiquities purchase for Cardinal de' Medici and they represent two consistent points of reference between the earliest texts about the group and the earliest images of its sculptures.[26]

The inclusion of the *Wrestlers* in Cavalieri's plates may suggest that the configuration of the *Niobe Group* had not been decided by 1594. The *Wrestlers* did not become part of the collective *Niobid* garden display and although François Perrier did include two engravings of this work in his *Segmenta nobilium* (figs. 146 and 147), this sculpture appeared none the less as a pair of extraneous figures even if an implied connection to the *Niobe Group* figures was evident here.[27] The placement of Perrier's images of the *Wrestlers*, however, immediately following another two individual illustrations of other sculptures of *Niobe's* sons (figs. 148 and 149), thus still implied the connection between this

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[23]Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, (Rome: 1594), vol. 4, 9-19. For a discussion of the publication in general and an outline of the content of each edition see Thomas Ashby, "*Antique Statue Urbis Romae*," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 9 (1920): 107-158.
[24]Cavalieri, *Statuarum Urbis*, 11.
[25]Ibid., 9.
[26]See note 3. "Questo sono il numero delle statue 15. Computato l'Alotta per doi, e la Niebia per doi."
[27]Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium*, 35 and 36.

sculpture and the rest of the *Niobe Group*, but no attempt to make a more direct link was ever made.[28]

In addition to the *Wrestlers* there was also another *Niobid* sculpture recorded by Cavalieri which did not become part of the later collective *Niobid* garden display. This figure, described as "Una ex Filiabus *Niobe*" (fig. 143), also suggests, due to its presence among these plates, that Cavalieri's engravings of the Villa Medici *Niobids* represent an early configuration of the group.[29] However, in addition, this engraving also provides insight regarding how Ferdinando judged the artistic merit of the figures in his initial selection of *Niobid* statues. Like Cavalieri, François Perrier also recorded a considerable number of female Villa Medici *Niobid* statues with individual engravings, but unlike the *Wrestlers* the sculpture of *Niobe's* daughter was not included as part of this small series of three images (figs. 151-153).[30] This fact indicates that Ferdinando de' Medici chose to isolate particular *Niobid* figures without eliminating their connection to the rest of the group, while entirely disregarding other sculptures which he did not deem suitable for his collective garden display.

Aside from Perrier's 1638 engraving of the entire *Niobe Group* garden display, this selection of figures was also represented as a collective exhibition in Domenico Buti's 1602 engraving of the Villa Medici garden (fig. 3). This image, though the first engraving to show the statues together in their landscape setting, was very small in scale and almost incidental. Its placement, mid-way down along the right edge of the page means that, although the group is shown in a large open recess along the northern peripheral wall of the property, it is not entirely visible due to the boundaries of Buti's page. In this engraving, however, the group of figures is shown as the visual terminus at the north end of the

[28]Ibid., 33 and 34.
[29]Cavalieri, *Statuarum Urbis*, 17.
[30]Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium*, 57-60.

longest garden viale linking the central planted landscape of the villa with the public entrance to the garden on the Via Porta Pinciana, represented in part as the lateral path separating the piazza from the labyrinths and trellised and non-trellised parterres. The 1598 inventory of Villa Medici sculpture also confirms this location by noting that the group was positioned at the "testa del viale longo."[31]

In this inventory, however, is the notation that the sculpture of *Niobe's* two wrestling sons had been placed in the "camera prima verso il Popolo".[32] Though not on display together with the rest of the figures this sculpture was still identified with the *Niobe* story from its description as "2 Statua di marmo di Lottatorio del historie di *Niobe*."[33] In addition to this, the sculpture of *Niobe's* daughter, represented by Cavalieri and later excluded from the garden exhibition, was also recorded in its relocated setting. This work, however, had its subject and its origin left completely anonymous, and although it was placed on the "Facciata di fuora alla Galleria" this statue was only described as "1 Statua di marmo donna vestita senza testa e senza braccia."[34] Such contrasting acknowledgements for two original *Niobid* sculptures raises important questions regarding Ferdinando's decorative objectives for this group of statues and begins to reveal that some of the original figures were given a greater degree of consideration to others.

François Perrier's *Segmenta nobilium* is an important record of Ferdinando de' Medici's *Niobe Group* as it presents a visual catalogue of the later development of this collection of statues. As noted, the sculpture of *Niobe's* two wrestling sons and the entire collective *Niobid* arrangement were both included in this

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[31]See Appendix, nos. 346-359 or Boyer, "Un inventaire," 268.
[32]See Appendix, no. 22.
[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid., 265, cat. 236.

publication, while the figure of *Niobe's* daughter engraved by Cavalieri, and later omitted from the collective *Niobid* garden exhibition, is no longer referenced in any way. In Perrier's publication, as noted with regard to two of the sculptures of *Niobe's* sons, in addition to the *Wrestlers*, individual figures from the collective *Niobid* display were illustrated sparately as well as among the entire collection of statues.[35] These engravings, aside from depicting some of the figures of *Niobe's* sons also illustrated the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* and three sculptures representing *Niobe's* daughters (figs. 150-153).

In each of these engravings the figures are shown from a slightly different direction to Perrier's collective illustration. With alternate backdrops with either a natural or an architectural emphasis, these appear in their restored states as if they were living beings rather than sculptural fragments as they had done in Cavalieri's earlier engravings. The *Wrestlers*, shown in Perrier's plates from opposite directions, both included curious backdrops of either the Colosseum and/or the Arch of Constantine. As already noted, unlike Cavalieri's engraving of the *Wrestlers*, this sculpture is never specifically identified as representing two of *Niobe's* sons with any descriptive text on the page and only assumes an association to the *Niobe Group* by the fact that these two engravings follow those of two other male *Niobid* statues. Their fictitious setting, however, characteristic of Perrier, does not seem to have any particular historical relevance to this sculpture and instead creates a kind of general Imperial Roman genre reconstruction.

The 1598 Villa Medici inventory listing of the *Wrestlers* does not mention that any damage affected the physical character of this sculpture.[36] As a result, it must be concluded that these figures were restored between the time Cavalieri

[35]See notes 27, 28 and 30.
[36]See note 32.

made his engravings of the *Niobids*, before 1594, and the inventory of 1598. In addition, the fact that the sculpture identified by Cavalieri as representing one of *Niobe's* daughters, but omitted from the collective exhibition, seems to have been put on display by this date without any such repairs also suggests that Ferdinando was careful about selecting particular statues for restoration. This too raises questions regarding Ferdinando's decorative objectives for his antique sculpture collection in general. It suggests that particular individually exhibited antiquities at the Pincian Hill villa were only considered worth restoring if they were particularly valuable or formed part of a grander and more formal theme. As a result, the issue of restoration now seems to be regarded, at least by Ferdinando in this instance, as a mark of value which defined the individual worth of certain sculptures within a large antique sculpture collection.

Very few of the individual figures are identified in detail in the surviving written documentation about the discovery of the *Niobe Group* and its purchase by Cardinal de' Medici. As noted, Valerio Cioli, in his letter to Antonio Serguidi of April 8th, 1583, only singles out a group of two figures as being especially beautiful, but gives no further clues as to which figures these were.[37] In Cioli's letter, however, it was at least noted that, "di molte di quele (sic) àno (sic) la teste rimese, e a[n]che de' braci (sic)," and this provides at least some idea of the condition many of the sculptures were in when the group was found.[38]

In Stefano Pernigoni's letter of June 24th, 1583 to Hieronimo Varese, both the paired figures of *Niobe's* wrestling sons and of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* were identified separately.[39] The remaining sculptures were then simply recorded as numbering among a total fifteen figures. The vague written

[37]Gaye, *Carteggio*, 451. "Sua Alt. sa che fu trovato quatordici fiure (sic) che sono di buona mano, che rapresenta la storia di Niobe, e infra altre cèun grupo di dua fiure (sic) che sono molto belle." See also Stark, *Niobe*, 218, n. 1.
[38]Ibid.
[39]See notes 3 and 26.

assessments of the *Niobe Group* were continued in Hieronimo Varese's draft agreement for the purchase of these sculptures by Ferdinando, but in this text only the Wrestlers were itemised separately. The sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* was thus counted as part of the rest of the figures included in this sale. With the addition of a torso, Varese records that the total number of statues in Ferdinando's purchase was then fifteen.[40] This assortment of information about the *Niobid* figures makes it extremely difficult to determine exactly what the original configuration of the *Niobe Group* was or even to define precisely how many sculptures formed the group upon its discovery. As there is no indication regarding how the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter*, or that of the *Wrestlers*, were counted by Cioli or Varese, it is only possible to conclude that there were clearly enough appropriate figures to identify the entire collection as representing the *Niobe* story.[41]

A catalogue entry in a Guardaroba Medicea inventory of 1588 records that plaster copies of fifteen *Niobid* sculptures were in Florence awaiting restoration, having been shipped from Rome earlier that year.[42] After the purchase agreement of 1583, this is the only remaining document which suggests how many sculptures actually formed the *Niobe Group* initially. At some point between this 1588 inventory listing and that of 1598, however, the *Niobe Group* seems to have been reduced in size by one sculpture to a total of fourteen statues. The exact configuration of the group in both inventories is extremely vague, as the *Niobid* sculptures were itemised more for numerical purposes rather than to provide a detailed account of each figure's physical characteristics. Though the drop in number may seem to suggest that one figure was omitted from the final configuration of the Niobid garden display, this change in number also begins to

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[40]Ibid.

[41]Mandowsky, "Some Notes," 253-255 deals with the count of figures in all the earliest documentation about the Niobe group.

[42]See note 21. "No. 15 figure di gesso intere grande al naturale dell' 'Istoria di Niobe,' venute di Roma di 3 di Settembre 1588."

reflect the fact that a more extensive reconfiguration of the entire selection of individual *Niobid* statues had also taken place between 1588 and 1598.

The casts of the *Niobids* shipped to Florence no longer survive, and, although they could have revealed much about the condition of the figures before their restoration and identified an early configuration of the group, notations of their existence only provide a means for speculation.[43] According to information in some surviving Guardaroba files, these casts were worked on in Florence by Antonio d' Anibale Marchissi and Zanobi di Vincenzo Brochi primarily during October 1591.[44] Though it is possible that this work was undertaken to prepare these casts for exhibition in Florence, it is more likely that they were designed to serve as an aid in structuring the Roman *Niobid* exhibition. The *Niobids* which appeared in Cavalieri's 1594 edition of his *Statuarum Urbis* were still mostly unrestored, and thus it is possible to hypothesise that these casts were not brought to Florence for decorative purposes. However, given their important position within the Villa Medici garden in Rome, Ferdinando must have wanted to continue to keep an eye on the progress of their restoration and be able to oversee any work relating to this.

The Villa Medici *Niobid* sculptures illustrated by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in his *Statuarum Urbis* publication included the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter*, a figure identified as *Niobe's* husband, (a type alternatively known later in the 17th century as a *Pedagogue*), five sculptures representing her sons (six figures in total when counting *Niobe's* wrestling sons separately), and four representing her daughters.[45] Aside from recording each of these sculptures prior to their restoration, Cavalieri's plates also identify the location of these works at the villa. Eight of the *Niobids* were described as "in palatio" and three

[43]Ibid., 259.
[44]Ibid., 256, n. 9.
[45]See note 23.

were "in hortius". Those "in palatio" were the sculptures of *Niobe's* sons and two of her daughters (figs. 139-141, 143 and 145).[46] Those "in hortius" thus included only two of *Niobe's* daughters and the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* (figs. 135, 142 and 144).[47] The nature of the dispersal of these statues is curious at such a late date, and further suggests that plans for a collective *Niobid* garden exhibition were yet to be arranged at the time Cavalieri's engravings were made.

Many of the *Niobid* figures recorded by Cavalieri were, even without restoration, physically expressive. In Perrier's engraving it becomes clear that this was probably the most important reason why a sculpture was chosen to contribute to Ferdinando's collective exhibition. As a result, there is really no cause to debate why the daughter engraved by Cavalieri had been omitted later. She clearly did not fit with the group given her static pose, and compared to other *Niobid* sculptures she is not very exciting. As already noted, her missing head and arms had also not even been restored, and this suggests that she was omitted during the early stages of the development of the *Niobid* garden display.

In François Perrier's engraving, the general physical expression of all the Villa Medici *Niobids* clearly corresponds to the sense of shock, loss, sheltering and flight which make up the fundamental elements of Ovid's *Niobe* tragedy. Though other ancient authors like Apollodorus, Hesiod and Homer also wrote versions of the *Niobe* story, Ovid's version bore a special relationship to Ferdinando's antique *Niobid* statues.[48] As already noted, the paired figures of

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[46]Cavalieri, *Statuarum Urbis*, 10-15, 17 and 19.
[47]Ibid., 9, 16 and 18.
[48]Apollodorus, *The Library*, vol. 1, trans. J.G. Frazer (Cambridge, MA. and London: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1995 reprint of the 1921 edition), 343. Hesiod, *Homeric Hymns, Epic Cycle, Homerica*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University press, Loeb Classical Library, 1998 rerint of the revised 1914 edition), 173. Homer, *The Iliad*, vol. 2, trans. A.T. Murray (Cambridge MA. and London: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1998 reprint of 1925 edition), 607 and 609.

Niobe holding her youngest child and the Wrestlers were included among the statues purchased by Cardinal de' Medici in 1583. These works, in addition to their special mention in the earliest descriptions of the group also directly reflected descriptive details from Ovid's *Niobe* story.[49] As a result, a close relationship between text and sculpture was inescapable. In this respect the absence of the sculpture of *Niobe's* wrestling sons from the collective garden display becomes a more important consideration.

Though displayed separately, the *Wrestlers* must have been restored with the rest of Ferdinando's *Niobids*, between 1594 and 1598. Why their restoration occurred cannot really be answered, but this sculpture was a notable antiquity in Ferdinando's collection. With its inherent association to the rest of the *Niobe Group* due to the provenance of its discovery, Ferdinando seems to have always considered it part of this group and thus perhaps worthwhile to restore in order to maintain a visually consistent connection. Though the addition of limbs and heads was not essential for a work which was individually displayed, it maintained an essential relationship between the *Wrestlers* and the rest of the *Niobids*. The decision to omit the *Wrestlers* from the *Niobe* garden display may have occurred very late in the development of this collective exhibition and, as a result, the sculpture may have already have been restored by the time the decision to exclude it was reached. However, why the *Wrestlers* was omitted from the garden display in the end remains to be considered.

Located at the terminus of the long north/south garden viale, the *Niobids* were a considerable distance from Ferdinando's villa casino. Having been newly discovered in 1583 and not owned previously in the sixteenth century, the *Niobid* figures were, as already mentioned a particularly important part of Ferdinando

[49]Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 305. "Unhappy Phaedimus and Tantalus... when they had finished their wonted task had passed to the youthful exercise of the shining wrestling-match."

de' Medici's antique sculpture collection. Having a representation from the group in his villa casino would thus allow Ferdinando to show off this acquisition without requiring an extensive visit to his garden. However, not just any figure from the group would have been considered suitable for display in the villa casino. In order to ensure the greatest impact Ferdinando had to employ an important example from the general collection of *Niobids*. Only then could he effectively imply that the figures in the garden were of a similar quality.

The sculpture of *Niobe's* wresting sons was ideal for display in the Villa Medici casino. The subject could be easily identified in Ovid's text, but, unlike the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter*, was not an essential component of the *Niobid* story. Without the figure of *Niobe* the collective garden exhibition would not have been possible, while the sculpture of *Niobe's* wrestling sons is not necessarily missed in the *Niobe Group* exhibition. If the sculpture of the *Wrestlers* had been placed among the crowd of *Niobid* figures the individual impact of this work would also, in fact, have lessened considerably.

By removing the sculpture of *Niobe's* wrestling sons for separate display, Ferdinando de' Medici was making the most of his *Niobid* acquisition. By employing the two most prized works from his 1583 purchase to form a separate exhibition he was also enabling other works from his existing collection to become part of the overall collection of *Niobid* statues. The drama which defined the overall character of the *Niobe Group* made it easy to adapt figures unrelated to those in the original discovery. Selective display and antiquities restoration were clearly important elements in the decorative development of the *Niobe Group*, but, none the less, there must have been limitations because the final arrangement of the group still fell short by one figure.

In the 1598 sculpture inventory of the Villa Medici, the fourteen statues of the *Niobe Group* were mentioned. These included, as outlined above, *Niobe*, her husband, six male and six female children.[50] In addition, however, the daughter which *Niobe* held in her arms was not among this general count of figures.[51] As a result, the number of male and female children, total six and seven respectively. As a technicality this count is curious. Though Apollodorus, Hesiod, Homer, and Ovid all wrote different versions of the *Niobe* tragedy, each of these authors mention that *Niobe* had an equal number of children between genders, even if their total and the number killed varied from one text to another. Because of this, the unbalanced number of children in Ferdinando de' Medici's collective display is puzzling and suggests that attention to such details became less important after the omission of the *Wrestlers*.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Niobe's* children were noted as including seven sons and seven daughters.[52] From the total number of daughters in the Villa Medici garden display it would seem that Ferdinando de' Medici sought to parallel the count in this text. Erna Mandowsky has hypothesised that the sculpture of the *Pedagogue* may have been counted as one of *Niobe's* sons in the garden exhibition, but why this was even considered and what it says about how Ferdinando interpreted this group in terms of such historical reference details need to be explained.[53] The sculpture of the *Pedagogue* was well known as representing *Niobe's* husband. It was vaguely identified as such in Cavalieri's *Statuarum Urbis* and then clearly identified in the 1598 inventory.[54] A dual role

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[50]See note 21.
[51]Ibid.
[52]Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 301.
[53]Mandowsky, "Some notes," 259.
[54]Cavalieri, *Statuarum Urbis*, 10. The text at the bottom of this image describes this sculpture as "Vir Niobides." This must be a reference to the Latin "vir" meaning "a man." Though this information does not directly suggest that this figure was understood by Cavalieri as representing Niobe's husband the fact that this figure is not noted as "Filius Niobes" make a somewhat indirect interpretation of this sculpture as Niobe's husband possible, even if it is not entirely convincing. See also Boyer, "Un inventaire," 268.

as one of *Niobe's* sons would surely not have been very convincing to someone who was aware of the information in at least the later of these documents.

In recreating the *Niobe* story with the sculptures he bought in 1583, Ferdinando de' Medici had to define a single moment in the story. Though Ovid clearly describes two separate stages, each relating to one or other gender of *Niobe's* children, the central theme related specifically to the general sense of drama which surrounded all of the chronological elements of this story. With his omission/replacement of the daughter illustrated by Cavalieri, the overall impact of the group and Ferdinando's final selection of figures was clearly an extremely important issue. However, as Ferdinando was no longer collecting antiquities for his Pincian Hill Villa at the time the *Niobe Group* was being arranged, suitable works had to be found among the statues already in his collection.[55] If there were not enough to replace omissions like the *Wrestlers*, the uneven number of children present in the final arrangement of the group must reflect that the dramatic detail of each figure was of foremost importance for the collective *Niobid* garden display. In orchestrating even the more detailed character of the *Niobid* exhibition, rather than taking care to ensure that the total number of figures in Ferdinando's display reflected the number recorded in a particular version of the *Niobe* story, one male figure may have been sacrificed if nothing suitable could be found to be adapted for this story.

Ferdinando de' Medici had to restore to completion all the statues necessary to create a collective *Niobid* display. His ideas for the restoration of the *Niobid* statues, however, were not as straightforward as merely replacing any missing limbs. Though the somewhat fragmentary figural remains discovered in 1583 were generally restored to correspond to their existing physical structure, at least one sculpture can be identified as having had its original physical character

[55]Andres, *Villa Medici*, 218.

altered more significantly. This figure, employed to represent one of *Niobe's* daughters, but now identified as *Psyche* from her basic original figure structure, had the remains of one of its arms entirely recarved.[56]

When the changes to this figure are compared with Giovanni Battista Cavalieri's 1594 engraving of the unrestored sculpture, it is clear that the general physical character had been altered in restoration (142 and 154). In Cavalieri's image, both arms appear to have suffered some physical damage. One is missing from the elbow down and the other, pressed close to the chest, has lost some of the tips of its fingers. In François Perrier's later engraving of the group, however, this sculpture appears considerably changed (fig. 133). Not only had both arms been restored to completion, but, in particular, the arm which originally pressed close to the chest of this figure was removed and entirely replaced by a new limb which extend up and away from the trunk of the body. But why was the original form in need of such extensive alteration?

A winged figure of *Psyche* was on display in the gardens of the Villa Farnesina and later of the Villa d'Este during the sixteenth century which directly resembled the original stance and character of the *Niobid* daughter illustrated by Cavalieri (fig. 155). When Cavalieri's image and the Farnesina/d'Este *Psyche* are compared, the original positioning of the arm on the Medici sculpture is the same. As the Farnesina/d'Este *Psyche* was also identified as such in terms of its subject matter in other illustrative interpretations of the piece, this figure type made an unavoidable association to this mythological figure.[57] Though an unofficial stereotype and title, Ferdinando de' Medici must have been aware of the physical similarities between this *Niobid* and the Farnesina/d'Este sculpture and felt he had to change the physical character of his figure if it was to become

[56]Guido A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture*, vol. 1 (Florence:1958), 122-123, cat. 84.
[57]Bober and Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (New York: 1991), 128, cat. 95.

a *Niobid* daughter and avoid the possibility of an obvious comparison between such similar antiquities. By doing this Ferdinando de' Medici ensured the potency of this *Psyche*-type figure within his *Niobid* exhibition.

As a new type of decorative phenomenon, details of the collective exhibition of the *Niobid* figures in the earliest surviving images of the group reveal a number of practical issues regarding the arrangement and display of this collection of statues. Unlike the sculptures of mythological deities or the set of busts of the twelve Caesars illustrated by Jacopo Zucchi for the interior design and decoration of the Villa Medici statue gallery, the *Niobe Group* could not be defined by the same rules of architectural itemisation. In order for the impact of the group and the value of each figure to be maximised, the *Niobid* sculptures had, instead, to be arranged and accommodated within a single architectural enclosure. The nature of this setting is thus extremely important and provides a crucial means for determining the precise relationship between the *Niobid* statues and the other individual antiquities decorating Ferdinando's villa.

When analysing the architectural confines of the *Niobe Group* display environment there are a number of engravings which need to be considered. The first, part of Étienne Dupérac's 1577 map of Rome, shows that even by this early date there was a smaller scale architectural feature placed along the northern peripheral garden wall of Ferdinando's property to act as a visual terminus for the long north/south garden viale (fig. 52). Like other landscape and decorative details employed as part of Ferdinando's transformation of the villa, it is possible that the idea for placing a landscape feature in this location may also have been a relic from Cardinal Ricci's preceding ownership of the villa.[58] However, by the time Domenico Buti made his engraving in 1602, this

[58]Andres, *Villa Medici*, 310. Andres refers to this feature as a pavilion, but it does look more like a large elaborate niche in Dupérac's 1577 map of Rome. See fig. 52.

feature had been transformed, from what appears in Dupérac's map as a single large statue niche, to a small stage-like enclosure.

The architectural environment designed to house Ferdinando de' Medici's *Niobid* statues is extremely difficult to define in detail. It appears to have a slightly different character in some of the surviving Villa Medici engravings of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As many seventeenth-century images of the Villa Medici garden were clearly copies from the same general visual resource only the earliest or best representations of both the structure and the site are the most important to consider.[59] Two of these images, one engraved by Domenico Buti in 1602 and the other engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda in 1667 are filled with an astonishing amount of decorative detail given their scale (fig. 3 and 132). Together both these illustrations of the site present two of the best points for comparison in the study of the architecture of the *Niobe Group* setting.

Domenico Buti's Villa Medici engraving, showing the *Niobe Group* together in the garden for the first time, provides a particular idea about the relationship between these statues and their immediate surrounding environment. Shown as being enclosed from behind by a semi-circular colonnade, slightly wider than the opening it framed along the northern peripheral wall of the garden, according to Buti's image, this arc defined the physical boundary of the entire *Niobid* enclosure. Within this area the *Niobe Group* sculptures were thus arranged, and the entire group of statues, open to the elements above, appear as if they were set on a stage.

On Falda's engraving the nature of the *Niobid* enclosure is entirely different. Shown from a greater distance than in Buti's image and from a different angle,

[59]See *La Villa Médicis*, ed. André Chastel (Rome: 1991), vol. 1.

the sculptures are not visible in this illustration because their view is obscured by a roof over their enclosure. Unlike Buti's engraving, however, which suggests that the figures were spread across the entire width of the area defined by the arc of an open colonnade, Falda's representation shows that the *Niobid* figures were, instead, contained in a small square garden pavilion. This pavilion, placed at the centre of the space created as the opening along Ferdinando de' Medici's northern peripheral garden wall thus did not occupy such a large area for the display of these statues as was suggested by Domenico Buti. Though some of the *Niobid* sculptures were shown by Falda under the roof of the pavilion, the figures were, none the less, almost entirely contained within the confines of the smaller square structure.

Domenico Buti and Giovanni Battista Falda had very different objectives in making their engravings of the Villa Medici. For Buti, with his additional list of sculpture immediately below his image of the site and his list of corresponding numbers between the text and the illustration, it is clear that his engraving was designed to provide a visual context for a general descriptive catalogue of Ferdinando de' Medici's garden display of classical antique sculpture. For Giovanni Battista Falda, however, his illustration of the Villa Medici had a more general comparative purpose as it was designed to work together with many other similar engravings illustrating a selection of important Roman properties. His interests seem to have had more to do with the more general characteristics of Ferdinando's villa, as he was esentially creating a catalogue of a slightly different emphasis to that of Buti.

The fact that the representations of the architecture of the *Niobe Group* enclosure differ so considerably between the engravings of Buti and Falda is somewhat understandable. With Buti's clear emphasis on the placement and identity of the sculpture at the Villa Medici it is likely that he chose not to represent the actual

architectural environment of the *Niobids* in favour of representing a small general illustration of the collection of statues, even if it was only a partial view. For Falda however, the priority must have been to represent the site as it would have appeared in its entirety, and this suggests that even though his image is considerably later than that of Domenico Buti, he was inclined to capture a more accurate representation of Ferdinando's Roman villa.

Because François Perrier chose not to illustrate the architecture of the *Niobid* display environment and chose, instead, to show the figures in a fictitious pastoral setting, his engraving of the Villa Medici *Niobe Group* is of limited value in respect of offering a complete understanding of this group of figures in their exhibition context. Perrier's conscious inclusion of all the sculptures in the group display does enable a detailed analysis of their general composition and provide a clear visual impression of each sculpture, but his lack of attention toward portraying these works in their actual constructed environment makes it less straight forward to understand the relationship between these sculptures and their true physical surroundings at the Villa Medici.

From the composition of the *Niobe Group* in Perrier's engraving, it is clear that these sculptures were to be a garden feature viewed from a single direction. All the sculptures were turned to face the front of their enclosure with only slight adjustments made to vary the angle of the stance of each sculpture. In both the engravings of the group made by Domenico Buti and François Perrier, the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* is clearly at the pinnacle of the entire exhibition. Her form is centred among all of the other statues and is clearly represented in both the Buti and Perrier engravings atop an artificially elevated ground plane. Below her, the rest of the *Niobid* sculptures continue to fill the height, breadth and depth of the enclosure. As a result, some sculptures

of *Niobe's* children were more prominent as they were placed toward the front of the exhibition while others, were recessed toward the back of the display.

Though extremely small in scale the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* and that of the rearing horse are both clearly identifiable in Domenico Buti's 1602 engraving.[60] When the images of the group by Buti and Perrier are compared, it is clear that the relationship between the configuration of these two sculptures is the same in each engraving. Perrier's arrangement, in the same way as the Cavalieri figures, mirrors what was illustrated by Buti, but was, at least, consistent in its general composition, thus enhancing the historical value of Perrier's later engraving as a critical documentary resource. Because no obvious substantive changes seem to have been made to the configuration of the *Niobe Group* between 1602 and 1638, Perrier's image can be understood and employed as a detailed view of what appears on a comparatively minute scale in other earlier engravings of the Villa Medici property.

Even though there is no direct representation of the actual *Niobe Group* exhibition setting in Perrier's engraving, there are some suggestions as to how the figures may have related to the architectural framework of their surrounding semi-circular colonnade. The careful placement of two long thin trees on either side of the central *Niobe* sculpture in Perrier's image does suggest that two columns framed this figure on either side. In addition, the line of clouds above may also be a reference suggesting the height of the lintel which the columns are shown to support in Buti's engraving. As a result, at least in Perrier's image,

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[60]Erna Mandowsky was clearly not aware of Buti's 1602 engraving of the Villa Medici when she studied the Villa Medici Niobids. Instead, she employed the 1613 engraving of Jacobus Laurus which is much less specific in terms of its illustrative detail about the individual figures exhibited as part of the garden exhibition. See Mandowsky, "Some Notes," 259 and 255, fig.3. Glenn Andres also seems to have been unaware of Domenico Buti's engraving. In his *Villa Medici* publication he also references the Laurus engraving as well the slightly later Rossi engraving of the villa. See Andres, *Villa Medici*, 310 and fig. 34.

Niobe is thus distinguished and her isolated form appears as something special because of the natural elements which frame her.

In Perrier's engraving, the central figure of *Niobe*, the sculptures of her sons, daughters, her husband and the horse all seem to have been positioned so that their height varies. The result is an undulating visual pattern which rises and falls across the breadth and depth of the display. The eye is encouraged to keep moving around the scene and the depth and density defined by the placement of the figures is thus emphasised. By generally alternating these sculptures in terms of their height, a visual gap on either side of the centred *Niobe* was also ensured. The fact that *Niobe's* form was not hidden behind any of the statues in the foreground also emphasises her central role to an even greater extent than merely being defined by the natural surrounding framework discussed above. This varied placement of figures according to height effectively guides the eye through the layers of the *Niobid* exhibition, and there is never a sense that we are meant to stop our gaze anywhere except upon the central sculpture of *Niobe*.

At Wilton House in Wiltshire an antique Roman sarcophagus relief panel, well known in Rome during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, also illustrates the story of *Niobe* (fig. 156).[61] Though this work may not have directly inspired the idea for the arrangement of Ferdinando de' Medici's collective *Niobid* exhibition, it is certainly something which must be acknowledged within the context of any study about this Medici group. Having been incorporated into a private house façade at the base of the Capitoline Hill in Rome from the fifteenth century, and having been recorded through the sketches of many sixteenth century artists associated with the study of classical antiquities, such as Amico Aspertini, Girolamo da Carpi, Marten van Heemskerk, and Stephanus Vinandus Phigius,

[61] See Bober and Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists*, 139, cat. 107.

this work would certainly have been accessible for Ferdinando to study and consider in relation to the arrangement of his own *Niobid* exhibition.[62]

However, while the Wilton House *Niobid* panel has different literal components to the Villa Medici *Niobe Group*, it does, none the less, parallel certain aspects of the Villa Medici arrangement because it too illustrates the tragedy as a single moment.[63] With its wide rectangular format the Wilton House relief appears at first to be a confused tangle of fabric, bodies and animals, so dense that they are difficult to distinguish from one another when seen from a distance. Only on close inspection are the representations of *Niobe*, her husband and her children understood as isolated figures contributing to the general illustrative impact of the tragedy. The overall sense of panic, grief, shock and confusion is no different from the decorative and compositional motives of the Villa Medici *Niobe Group* and in this respect provides a link between the general idea and the visual impact of both groups.

On the Wilton House *Niobid* relief carving, however, *Niobe* is not the centre of the composition. Though she and her husband, Amphion, are represented as being slightly larger in scale in relation to the figures of their children, their shared role in framing the central scene was quite unlike the compositional layout employed by Ferdinando de' Medici. Due to the fact that he was working with a collection of individual sculptures that had to be accommodated, adapted and arranged, Ferdinando was constrained by a different set of compositional limitations and, in this respect, was not able to entirely create his *Niobid* scene. Even though there are clear general expressive qualities which relate the figures

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[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid. Under the "Description" for cat. 107 Bober and Rubenstein state their belief that the Wilton House relief may have been based more on the Niobe story as written by Apollodorus rather than that of Ovid (or any other ancient author) due to the representation of a mountain god on the far right of the relief. As Apollodorus wrote that "Apollo killed all the males together as they were hunting on Cithaeron," this assessment is probably correct even though the version of the Niobe tragedy in Apollodorus is comparatively brief, especially to that written by Ovid.

on the Wilton House relief to the *Niobids* in Ferdinando de' Medici's garden, there was no sense that Ferdinando was any more than remotely influenced by the simple idea to create a multi-figural *Niobid* scene and offered only the most general sense of its potential visual impact in arranging a free-standing multi-figured dramatic scene.

At the Villa Medici the sculpture of *Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter* was not only identified as being important, but was the most important figure in the scene. Being elevated slightly above all the other figures representing her family, she and her husband do not share importance in the same way as they do on the Wilton House carving. Having been layered through the depth of their exhibition environment, Ferdinando de' Medici's *Niobids* were also a dense mass of animated forms, obscured from a distance, but the fact that they were all individual free-standing sculptures did avoid overcrowding. By creating an architectural enclosure, Ferdinando defined the visual space within which these figures were arranged, but the strong horizontal of the frontal ground plane and the restriction for elevating figures to imply greater recession in this space also meant they were not filling the same type of area as the sarcophagus panel.

The limitations encountered in making compositional comparisons between an image on a relief panel and a group of individual figures are clearly unavoidable. Although the Wilton House relief is an important comparison to the Villa Medici *Niobe Group*, more significant comparisons need to be considered in order to determine the precise origins of Ferdinando de' Medici's collective antique sculpture display ideas. Multi-figured sculptural exhibitions were not unknown toward the end of the sixteenth century, but comparisons between this type of sculpture display and the Villa Medici *Niobe Group* is not straightforward. No single compositional or physical comparison stands out as being the most influential, but several parallels to alternate sixteenth-century decorative display

ideals play equally important roles in determining the inspiration for and the Villa Medici *Niobe Group* composition.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century at the Villa Medici at Pratolino, Ferdinando's brother, Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici, employed a single-scene decorative landscape feature also composed of many individual statues (fig. 124).[64] This group, representing Apollo and the Muses on a small artificial Mount Parnassus, was employed as part of an overall iconographic program designed to link all the elements of the Pratolino garden. However, rather than being placed in a separate architectural enclosure as the *Niobids* in Rome, this group was arranged on the constructed Parnassus. They could thus be seen from many directions. Unlike the clear frontal vantage dictated by the architecture of the Villa Medici *Niobid* enclosure, these figures had to relate to their landscape environment in an entirely different manner. Although the Pratolino Apollo and Muses were considerably less dramatic than Ferdinando de' Medici's Roman *Niobid* display, this remained the only other occasion in the late-sixteenth century when a selection of individual sculptures was employed to create a single scene.

An important difference between the collective display of Apollo and the Muses at Pratolino and the Villa Medici *Niobid* exhibition was that the Pratolino figures were not historical antiquities which had to be adapted for display in a new decorative context. Having been created only for the purpose of decorating the Pratolino garden, their relationship to this landscape and its selection of decorative ornaments was also entirely different in nature to the *Niobids* in Rome. At Pratolino, the Apollo and Muses figures not only had to form part of a

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[64]For the Villa Medici Pratolino see: Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven and London: 1990), especially 132-133 for the Mount Parnassus; See also F. de' Vieri, *Delle maravigliose opere di Pratolino* (Florence: 1586); and L. Zangheri, *Pratolino: il giardino della meraviglie*, 2 vols. (Florence: 1979).

grander symbolic context, but they also had to help define the nature of their landscape setting as a place whose design had clearly been inspired by emotion.[65] At the Villa Medici the *Niobids* had to form part of a villa whose decoration was primarily a catalogue of individual antique sculptures. The fact that the Pratolino figures were not part of an established antiquities collection whose display had to fit into a previously determined landscape setting meant that they only provided Ferdinando de' Medici with some insight into the possibilities for his collective display beyond the Wilton House *Niobid* sarcophagus. The practicalities of creating a sculpture exhibition with many different individual statues is thus understood in greater detail while the display sensibilities of a Roman villa garden still had to be considered.

By the time Ferdinando de' Medici purchased his *Niobid* sculptures in 1583, only two antique multi-figure sculpture groups were known in Rome. These works, both in private collections, were not, however, necessarily obvious comparisons to Ferdinando's *Niobid* statues. These sculptures, the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull*, were both single sculptures composed with many figures and thus had a distinctly different physical nature to the villa Medici *Niobe Group* (figs. 157 and 158). None the less, when all three groups are compared, it is impossible to discount the impact that both the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull* would inevitably have had on Ferdinando de' Medici's collective display idea and on the final arrangement of the Villa Medici *Niobid* statues.

Similarities between the history, discovery and patronage of the *Niobe Group*, the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull* are abundant. All three works could be identified in volume 36 of the Elder Pliny's *Natural History*, each was only ever associated with a single sixteenth-century patron, they were all considered highly prized works from the time of their discoveries, all portrayed classical tragedies,

[65] F. de' Vieri, *Delle maravigliose*, especially 47 for a discussion of the Monte Parnasso.

and all were heavily restored in the sixteenth century to become visually complete statues.[66] For Ferdinando de' Medici, however, aside from these general similarities, the fact that the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull* formed part of the two most important antiquities collections in Rome could not be ignored. But if Ferdinando's ideas for a collective *Niobid* exhibition were not finalised and implemented until he had assumed the Tuscan throne, his motives for making such intentional comparisons must be questioned from the perspective of a Tuscan Grand Duke rather than of a Roman Cardinal. Do they reveal a desire to have the Medici family understood as a continuing driving force among the political community of the Vatican in Rome?

The appropriate means by which multi-figure sculptures could be displayed was certainly an important issue which the *Laocoön* and *Farnese Bull* helped to define. These groups were discovered and prepared for exhibition when the established methods of antiquities display included figures being deployed in niches, on single pedestals or remaining as fragments scattered across a landscape setting. To conform to surroundings which had already been organised the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull* were very much like the Medici *Niobids*. Composed with a large central figure and flanked by two smaller ones on either side, the *Laocoön* was easily housed in one of the four large statue niches which were set into each corner of the Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere (fig. 18).[67] The solely frontal composition of the *Laocoön*, with all its figures turned to face forwards worked well in a niche type setting. The *Farnese*

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[66]For the *Farnese Bull* see Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 10, 37. For the *Laocoön* see Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 10, 29 and 31. For general information about these sculptures, their discoveries and exhibition during the sixteenth century see also Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London: 1988), 165-167, cat. 15, for the *Farnese Bull* and 243-247, cat. 52 for the *Laocoön*. For the *Laocoön* see also H.H. Brummer, *The Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere* (Leipzig: 1971), 75-119.

[67]For the Laocoön and its display in the Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere see: H. H. Brummer, *The Statue Court of the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm: 1970). See also James Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano (Vatican City: 1954).

Bull, however, which contained a larger number of full-sized figures placed around the central Bull, could not be displayed in this type of architectural environment. This sculpture demanded that it be seen from a variety of directions. Only in this way could this sculpture be entirely understood.

As a result, no matter where the Bull was accommodated the nature of its composition demanded that a significant space be made available around the entire sculpture. Because of this, the sculpture presented difficulties in determining the appropriate nature of its exhibition. It could only effectively be exhibited as a central decorative feature and possibilities for its purpose and location thus had to be explored in various ways. This sculpture was displayed first as a fountain and then being encased within its own architectural enclosure.[68]

Ferdinando already possessed a well-established garden at the time when his *Niobids* were first purchased, which certainly set limitations on how he could display these sculptures. Placing them in a group was not only an effective way to diversify the manner in which the rest of his antiquities were displayed at this site, but would also have to follow some kind of previous example. In exploring the practicalities of how best to exhibit the *Niobe Group*, Ferdinando de' Medici had to consider what types of spaces were still available to occupy with such a group of sculptures as well as determine how his *Niobids* would fit within the established character of the existing landscape. In this respect, the character and displays of the *Laocoön* and the *Farnese Bull* were important considerations.

The fact that the *Niobe Group* was considered a highly prized collection of statues is clearly understood from their placement at the terminus of the main

[68]Gorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Vol. 7, ed. by G. Milanesi (Florence: Sansoni edition, 1906), 224. See also Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 165.

north/south garden viale of the Villa Medici. The nature of this location did dictate a single viewpoint and in this respect, even though the more animated nature of the *Niobid* statues paralleled the physical character of the *Farnese Bull* figures, their display setting reflected that of the *Laocoön* instead. The eventual configuration of the *Niobids* toward a single view point worked well for their approach along the north/south garden viale and by being such a confined arrangement in a well defined architectural enclosure also corresponded to the general character of the other types of antique sculpture settings also employed through out the Villa.

The Villa Medici *Niobe Group* is clearly a unique decorative phenomenon. Owing to the nature of the discovery and acquisition of this newly excavated group of antique sculptures, these figures were bound to be an important component of Ferdinando de' Medici's antique sculpture collection at his Pincian Hill villa in Rome. Their late date of discovery, in terms of the decorative development of this property by Cardinal de' Medici, may have meant that little information about the earliest configuration of the entire sculpture group was recorded in antiquarian studies and/or illustrations, but a relatively complete understanding of the precise history, significance and development of the final arrangement of the *Niobe Group* sculptures remained possible nonetheless.

Due to the fact that these works seem to have only been arranged for formal exhibition at the Villa Medici in Rome between 1594 and 1598, well after Ferdinando's return to Florence to assume the Tuscan throne, the *Niobe Group* provides a closing point from which the entire design and decoration of this site, undertaken by Ferdinando de' Medici, can be understood. As a potent symbol of the determination of the ruling Florentine Medici family to maintain a completed example of personal power in Rome the decorative development of the collection of *Niobid* sculptures had to be ultimately influenced by this objective.

Though no true direct relationships between the final arrangement of the Villa Medici *Niobids* and any other single decorative resource can be determined, the wider selection of inspirational resources, antique and modern, Roman and Florentine was, none the less, extremely significant. They not only demonstrate Ferdinando de' Medici's ability to create something unprecedented as part of a well established site, but the *Niobe Group* also demands attention as a new form of decorative expression in relation to an established sixteenth-century criteria which had defined acceptable methods of antiquities exhibition. Only through the restoration of each figure, and by employing more than one method of display, did this relatively nondescript selection of fourteen *Niobid* sculpture fragments described by Cioli, became one of the most important components of Ferdinando de' Medici's entire antiquities collection.

CONCLUSION

The Villa Medici in Rome, as it was transformed under the patronage of Ferdinando de' Medici during the late sixteenth century, can be defined in several ways. Due to its location within the walls of Rome, its components of a casino and garden and its decoration with an extensive collection of classical antique sculpture, defined its general character as a Roman suburban villa. However, with a closer look at the details of these components, the transformation of the site by Ferdinando de' Medici was also unusual. Unlike other sixteenth-century villas, the design and decoration of the Villa Medici in Rome did not relate to a single overriding iconographic program; nor did it correspond to a single architectural format, and the decorative features did not all relate to those employed at other preceding and contemporary Roman suburban villas.

By understanding this context, this study has looked beyond the boundaries of Ferdinando's transformation of the Villa Medici in order to establish the ambitions and aspirations which the villa symbolised. For Ferdinando de' Medici, the motivation which surrounded his design and decorative transformation of the Villa Medici in Rome stemmed from many sources and branched off in many directions. As a result, the design and decorative phenomena which he devised at this site can be viewed both in isolation and as a single unit. Although these were designed to meet the same overall creative objective each clearly retains its own individual purpose and character.

The approach of this study, in separating out four significant design and decorative phenomena undertaken by Ferdinando to help transform the Villa Medici, reveals much about what Ferdinando was trying to achieve. These projects were all clearly designed to associate Ferdinando and his collection with the patronage of the wealthiest and most powerful Cardinals of the sixteenth-

century, thus defining his own position among them, but also paying homage to the powerful position of the Florentine Medici family through the careful selection of personal symbolism.

The fact that each of the phenomena selected for this study was conceived of at a different time in the development of the villa and dealt with very different object categories from within Ferdinando de' Medici's antiquities collection made them ideal components for an alternative approach to understanding the purpose behind Ferdinando's creative ambition for this villa. Many of Ferdinando's ideas for the Villa Medici in Rome, although designed to fit into the same comprehensive project framework, were also undertaken as a result of very different ideas and circumstances. Even though the Villa Medici existed in is completed form as an accumulation of a variety of ideas and objects, the fundamental nature of its transformation into an important sixteenth-century Roman suburban villa is the most crucial issue which holds the various projects together.

Ferdinando's plans and ideas for the site developed over time and were realised through his accumulation of sculpture and decorative objects. The growth of his patronage of classical antiquities was clearly the linchpin which connected these elements together. Ferdinando's antiquities patronage began immediately upon his arrival in Rome in 1569, long before he purchased the site of his villa from the Ricci family in 1576. However, whatever the chronology of his purchases or finds, the Villa Medici sculpture inventory of 1598, confirms that his patronage of classical antiquities had a fundamental relationship with his design and decorative transformation of the Villa Medici in Rome.

The significance of Ferdinando's desire to obtain a Roman suburban villa is clear. If he was to follow in the footsteps of his Medici predecessors such as

Pope Leo X or Pope Pius IV, he needed to create the right image for himself in Rome. In doing so, however, he also had to place himself within the wider and more contemporary context of his ruling Florentine Medici family. For Ferdinando, his induction into the cardinalate in 1565 had served to cultivate a formal relationship between himself and the memory of Leo X, but to ensure his own eventual rise to the papal throne he would have to define himself as a potential leader. As the most wealthy and powerful Italian Cardinals in Rome in the sixteenth century sought to display their wealth, taste and learning through the acquisition of antique objects and their display in a villa setting, Ferdinando de' Medici needed to cultivate similar interests in order to develop his villa as a point of comparison within the social and political context of the Vatican.

Ferdinando's political goals and personal ambition were the foundation not only for Ferdinando's antiquities collection, but also an attempt to build a new identity in Rome for the Medici family. With Ferdinando de' Medici's purchase of the Ricci villa in 1576 the Medici name was placed, quite literally, onto the map in Rome, and part of the Medici family objectives was achieved. However, only through the careful development of this site and the development of his career could Ferdinando hope to ensure that the Medici dynasty and its politcal objectives could continue to prosper in Rome.

A closer study of particular design and decorative projects which Ferdinando de' Medici undertook at the Villa Medici is thus revealing. Although his desire to mark his presence in Rome as a powerful social and political force within the Vatican was clear through his choice of property and its related patronage of classical antiquities, Ferdinando also focused attention upon honouring the achievements and power of his Florentine family, both as the newly acknowledged rulers of Florence and Tuscany, and the Medici legacy of informal Florentine political leadership. It becomes clear through all of the phenomena

detailed in this study that Ferdinando was in Rome for a reason, and that his presence there had a direct correlation to the leadership of his immediate Florentine family. There is little doubt that Ferdinando de' Medici's ultimate goal was the Papal throne and for the Medici in Florence this would have been the most beneficial objective that Ferdinando could achieve.

The Statue Gallery, as the first of the four design and decorative phenomena highlighted in this study, is significant in the fact that it was undertaken as part of the earliest ideas for transforming the Villa Medici. Although the need for such a structure in its precise location within the villa was outlined by Bartolommeo Ammannati, its similarities to the Cesi antiquarium in Zucchi's *scrittoio* fresco is significant. The obvious association between a similar structure at a more established Roman suburban villa clearly highlights what Ferdinando's initial design and decorative objectives for the Villa Medici were designed to achieve, even if its eventual transformation in to a statue gallery as part of the villa casino made the construction a curiosity.

The study of the transformation of this project is revealing in terms of Ferdinando's desire to reflect an established ideal while addressing more contemporary exhibition and patronage ideals. However, the more detailed analysis of Ferdinando's intentions for the development of the statue gallery interior addressed issues of patronage and exhibition that confronted both the value and desirability of true antiquities versus restorations and/or copies.

The formulaic ideas of Jacopo Zucchi for establishing a hall of the gods and caesars, although not ultimately seen through to completion in the Villa Medici Statue Gallery, reflected contemporary patronage ideas while providing an example which lesser Roman patrons could only aspire to. Although Zucchi's decorative proposals had a distinctly Roman feel with their obvious associations

to the arrangement of antiquities in the statue court of the palazzo della Valle and on the facade of the Palazzo Spada, Ferdinando's objectives clearly centred both on tradition and innovation in terms of patronage and display.

With his collection of garden herms, Ferdinando's further attempt to conform his new villa with other such sites in Rome is again clear. The use of these antiquities, while also reflecting Ferdinando's initial desire to define his property as a Roman suburban villa, as they appeared in Zucchi's early *scrittoio* frescoes, also challenged traditional ideas as to the purpose and individual worth of antique sculpture and objects through their eventual general identification as a collective unit in the 1598 Villa Medici sculpture inventory.

Herms, by their very character and function were different to formal figural sculpture or portrait busts and their extensive use by Ferdinando de' Medici to mark the borders of hedged parterres certainly works to widen this distinction. Although their large number at the Villa Medici made a considerable contribution to the number of antiquities in Ferdinando's collection, their significance was clearly far less than that of many of the other antiquities eventually employed to decorate Ferdinando's villa. As a result, a definite distinction can be drawn between the value of the historic Herms at the Vigna Poggio and decorative herms of the Villa Medici, ultimately shedding considerable doubt on whether the objects at the Vigna Poggio were actually moved to the Villa Medici or whether they were left in place.

The Villa Medici obelisk, as the third phenomenon studied, is very different in relation to both Ferdinando's statue gallery and his collection of herms. Its position in the garden, at the intersection of the two major circulation axes through the planted landscape and between the garden and the villa casino, defines the obelisk as one of the most important decorative features employed at

the Villa Medici. Its positioning in the Villa Medici garden was clearly reflective of Pope Sixtus V's late sixteenth-century ideas and projects for redefining the general urban layout of Rome. The obelisk was the focal point for Ferdinando's attempt to establish an iconographic program for his villa.

The obelisk has often been associated with the man made mount in the Villa Medici bosco. In turn, illustrations of the bosco, in comparison with Pirro Ligorio's engraving of the Mausoleum of Augustus, suggests a relationship with Imperial Rome. The fact that the mount was often termed as a 'Mausoleo' in seventeenth century engravings of the Villa Medici reinforces this idea. The fact that Ferdinando's father had also cultivated a symbolic association with the Emperor Augustus in order to help justify his newly established position as Duke of Florence, and the fact that he had died only in 1574 were, no doubt, important considerations. However, the position of the obelisk was also designed to make further references and associations about the Medici family.

The 1589 engraving of the obelisk made by Nicholas van Aelst is of foremost importance in understanding the significance of the obelisk. In this visual context, taken from the perspective of the garden axis from the villa casino, the obelisk is no longer understood in relation to the bosco mount, but instead to a selection of animal figures which form its immediate surroundings. In this regard a new sense of garden iconography can be suggested. Though it is not obvious, there is a distinct personal relationship between this decorative program and Ferdinando. On one side of the obelisk is a goat and on the other is a ram, the zodiacal signs of Ferdinando's father, the late Grand Duke of Tuscany and his brother Francesco who had then inherited the title. With the tortoises that support the base of the obelisk and the lions encountered upon entry into the garden in the casino loggia, a clear association can be established between this decorative programme and that employed in the grotto of the animals at the Villa

Medici Castello. The obelisk, and its supporting sculptures, made a visual connection between the new Medici lineage in Florence and Rome, while also associating Ferdinando with the projects for Rome as envisaged by Sixtus V.

The obelisk must have been acquired later than many of the antiquities featured at the Villa Medici, as it was never considered as a garden feature in Zucchi's *scrittoio* frescoes. However, unlike statuary that merely had its value determined by its history or the quality of craftsmanship in antiquity, the obelisk served a different function. Not only did the obelisk link the garden and casino together as a visual centre and focal point, it also linked Ferdinando Medici's lineage with his importance in Rome. The acquisition and position of the obelisk, combined with its supporting sculptures, are clear indications that Ferdinando's aspirations for the Villa Medici were no longer merely concerned with establishing a suitable suburban villa, but now included the use of antiquities and villa decoration to produce strong visual links with his origins, lineage and personal ambitions.

By the time that Ferdinando de' Medici acquired the *Niobe* group, much of his transformation of the Villa Medici had either been determined or was already in place. However, in terms of its historical and decorative value, this group was no less special. Ferdinando's objectives for the Villa Medici were already firmly established, but to progress further his antique sculpture collection now had to work to compete in its originality and quality with those of the Vatican and the Farnese family, the most powerful political players in Rome. The *Niobe* group represents Ferdinando's first attempt to raise the status of his collection to the very highest level.

The *Niobids* were a late addition to Ferdinando's Villa Medici antiquities collection. However, the fact that, on their discovery in 1584, they were new

items which could be identified only with his name and not that of an earlier collector, unlike many of his other important pieces, made the group of foremost importance to Ferdinando. Formed from a total of fourteen or fifteen individual or paired figures, the *Niobe* group has always been understood as a single decorative unit, representing the moment when *Niobe* lost her fourteen children to the arrows of Apollo and Diana. The dramatic moment captured by these sculptures was extremely powerful. It was this element that made the crucial associations between Ferdinando's *Niobids* and the *Farnese Bull* and the Vatican *Laocoön*, extremely popular antique sculptures even in the late sixteenth century.

However, even though this specific relation between his collection and those of the Vatican and Farnese was of great importance, the value of each sculpture was still a significant issue. Rather than leaving the group as he originally found it and restoring all the pieces to work together, Ferdinando separated out one of the most important pieces from the group, the *Wrestlers*, and chose to replace them with other unrelated figures from his collection in order to exhibit this pair separately within the confines of the villa casino. In addition, to add drama to the group he also added unrelated works such as a horse already in his collection. It was clearly enough to have a representation of the *Niobid* scene with the figure of *Niobe* clutching her youngest child at the centre. The other statues representing her children were merely there to make up the number in Ovid's account of the story and to create a sense of drama. By separating the most highly prized sculpture from the group, Ferdinando was maximising the display value he could obtain from his newly discovered sculptures.

For Ferdinando de' Medici it was important that the *Niobids* continued to be understood as a collective unit. Only then could they be identified with the *Farnese Bull* and the *Laocoön* figure groups. The fact that the *Niobe* group was composed of individual figures and pairs was a bonus because it meant that

figures could easily be interchanged and that he could get more mileage out of the important figures by employing them as part of separate decorative features, with the *Wrestlers* in the casino and the rest of the group in the garden. For Ferdinando effect was everything, and although the *Farnese Bull* and the *Laocoön* were dramatic pieces of sculpture, with the Niobe group he was able to enhance both its dramatic effect while gaining the maximum amount of prestige from its ownership.

The *Niobe* group, however, even though discovered and acquired by Ferdinando while he was a cardinal in Rome, also represents the conclusion of his projects to transform the Villa Medici. Ferdinando had already worked to define the character of the Villa Medici early on in its development as a Roman suburban villa. He also established a more personal iconography there to define both his position, his lineage and his ambition in Rome. However, with the display of the Niobe group, Ferdinando could now count himself amongst the most important collectors in Rome. By establishing a direct connection between his collection and that of the Vatican or of the Farnese, his status and that of his family as their representative in Rome was now able to reach a new level with the acquisition and collective display of the *Niobid* figures.

Ferdinando's unexpected succession to his brother Francesco as Grand Duke of Tuscany meant that the *Niobe* group became Ferdinando's last major project in his development of the Villa. As the sculptures were recorded by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri in his 1594 publication *Antiquarium statuarum Urbis Romae*, even well after Ferdinando had left Rome, many of the sculptures which eventually formed part of its collective exhibition in the garden were still in need of major restoration. By 1598 however, the group was in place, as it was recorded in the inventory of the Villa Medici sculpture made that year. Upon its completion, Ferdinando's transformation of the Villa Medici was now at an end.

This study has shown both the similarities between the Villa Medici and other villas in Rome, and the important exceptions which made Ferdinando's villa unusual. While many Roman villas were designed and constructed with a single comprehensive iconographic or decorative theme, Ferdinando's ideas for the Villa Medici evolved over a longer period of time. While the herms reflected a common theme in Roman suburban villa decoration, the existence of the statue gallery reveals influences from collectors and patrons far outside of Rome. As Ferdinando grew in his career, so the plans for his villa began to reflect his ambitions. The placement of one of the few privately owned ancient obelisks made clear associations with Sixtus V's redevelopment of Rome, Ferdinando's Medici lineage, and even a link to Rome's ancient heritage. With the discovery of the *Niobe* group, Ferdinando could claim to be one of the foremost patrons of antique sculpture in Rome. Through the study of these individual design and decorative phenomena, it is clear that Ferdinando had well developed reasons for his acquisitions and development of his villa which evolved over time.

In this way, each project can be understood individually, but also as part of the diverse, unusual, but ultimately coherent collection present at the villa. The Villa Medici was clearly important to Ferdinando even after he left Rome. Rather than abandoning his ideas and projects at the villa, Ferdinando ensured that they came to fruition. Ferdinando's last act concerning the Villa may have been the 1598 inventory, but it set the seal on his development of the Villa Medici, a great example of sixteenth-century Roman patronage and a great legacy of Ferdinando.

APPENDIX[1]

Inventario delle Masseritie et altre robbe che si trovano nel palazo et giardino de Smo Gran Duca di Toscana all Trinita de Monti che restano sotto la cura di Marenzio Marenzi custode e guardarobba di detto loco.

A dizz di giugno 1598 in Roma.

In sala grande.

1. - 16 Colonne di mischio verde, alabastre cotognino, brecia roscia e bianca.
2. - 1 Testa di marmoro di Marco Marcello con gola.
3-4. - 2 Teste con li petti di marmoro di Giulia di Tito.
5. - 1 Testa di marmoro con gola di Seneca.
6. - 1 Testa d' huomo con collo.
7. - 1 Testa con collo e morione di marmoro dta Pantasilea.
8. - 1 Testa con busto di marmo di Ant io.
9. - 1 Testa di una Sabina con orto vedovile.
10-11. - 2 Teste di metallo antiche di Nettunno e di Plutone.
12-15. - 4 Statue di marmo di Bacchi di p. 6 1/4 l'uno.
16. - 1 Statua di marmo d' un Ganimede con l'Aquita d. p. 6.
17. - 1 Statua di marmo d' un Apollo di p. 5 3/4.
18. - 1 Statua di marmo con il manto simile a quelle di Niobe di p. 6 1/4.
19. - 1 Statua di marmo simile a quelle di Niobe che stagno chine di p. 5 1/4.
20. - 1 Navicella di mistio verde con 4 colli di cignio di metallo.

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[1]Taken from Ferdinand Boyer, "Un inventaire inédit des antiques de la Villa Médicis (1598)," *Revue archéologique ancient et moderne* 33 (1929): 256-270.

21. - 2 Delfini di marmo bigio serve per fonte sul mignale.

Camera prima verso il Popolo.

22. - 2 Statue di marmo di Lottatori del historie di Niobe.

23. - 1 Hercole di marmo alto palmi 6 con piedistallo del medo dentrovi una testa di cigniale di mezzo rilievo.

24. - 1 Fauno di marmo di plami 3 1/3.

25. - 1 Satiro di marmo di p. 3.

Camera seconda di detto appartamento.

26. - 1 Statua di marmo di un villano al naturale che arota un cortello.

27. - 2 Figuretti di metallo di una Venere che dorme e un Satiro che la sta guardando.

Camera terza di detto appartamento.

28-30. - 3 Statuette di metallo di palmi uno 1/2 in ca che dua di venere fuor del bagnio e una di Marte.

31. - 1 Tavolino di marmo con le sue pietre fine e alabastro trasparente con carte stampate con cornice di marmo rosso.

Stanzino di detto appartamento.

32. - 1 Statua di Venere in nuda al naturale.

Prima stanza del Apartamto verso la Ternita.

33. - 1 Tavolino d' alabastro cotognino con cornici di marmo nero.

34. - 1 Venerina di marmo col Cupido sopra un nicchio di mare alta p. 2.

35. - 1 Statua d' un Moro con leveste d' Alabastro cotognino alto p. 3 1/2 colla base.

36. - 1 Statua di Schiavetto alta p. 3 1/6 colla basa.

37. - 1 Statua d' una Musa vestita alta p. 3 1/4.

38. - 1 Statua d' un Pastore con capra e arbero alta p. 3 1/2 con basa.

39. - 1 Ganimede di marmo con aquila e fulgore alta p. 3 3/6.

40-41. - 2 Putti di marmo che tengono 2 cagnoli in braccio alti p. 2 2/3.

42. - 1 Apollo di marmo con istrumento alto p. 4 1/2.

43. - 1 Hercole di marmo con pelle di leone alto 4 1/4.

44. - 1 Statua di marmo di un genio o Amore con cignio e sepre alto p. 3 1/3.

45. - 1 Venere di marmo che si sta lavando a un fiume con amorino alta p. 3 2/3.

46. - 1 Statua di Comodo che amazza un putto alta p. 3 1/6.

Seconda camera di detto apartamento.

47. - 1 Statua d' un Cupido che tira l'arco alto p. 5.

Stanzino di detto apartamento.

48. - 1 Statua di Venere di marmo al naturale col pomo et manto nelle mane.

P.a stanza di sopra dell' aprtto verso la Ternita.

49. - 1 Ovato di marmo nero con orto di marmo biancho con un Cupido dentro di piu che mezzo riglievo (sic) che tiene un vaso su le spalle alto p. 3.

Secondo Stanzino per calare abasso nella lumacha nova.

50-61 - 12 Teste di marmo di 12 Imperatori.

Sesta Stanza in detta guardarobba.

62-65. - 4 Teste di donne al naturale che 3 di marmo et una di tavertino ch' una moderna di Venere.

66-69. - 4 Teste d' huomo di marmo ch' uno Apollo grande, un Esculapio, un Cupido et una d'un Vechio.

Settima stanza.

70. - 1 Statuetta di una Venere a sedere sopra una lumacha marina che si lava, alta p. 3 1/2 in ca.

71. - 1 Capra di marmo minor del naturale.

72. - 1 Cane di marmo.

73. - 1 Puttino di marmo che sta a sedere con un cagniolo in braccio alto p. 1 3/4.

Stanza della stufa.

74. - 1 Pilo di marmo venato di pavonazzo lun. p. 13. lar. p. 6 1/4.

Loggia.

75-80. - 6 Statue di marmo magior del naturale vestite dette Sabine.

81-82. - 2 Leoni di marmo magior del naturale con una Palla p. uno.

83. - 1 Montone di Barbaria di marmo bianco con testa di marmo nero.

84. - 1 Lupa di marmo venato.

85. - 1 Testa di marmo con il petto d'un Giove magior del naturale.

86-89. - 4 Palle di pietra mistia sui balastri della scala della loggia.

90. - 1 Mercurio di bronzo sopra a una testa d'un vento che sta sopra a una pila di breccia di più colori che fa fonte con 2 maniche di bronzo.

Galleria.

91-92. - 2 Fauni simili in marmo.

93-94. - 2 Venere in marmo.

95-96. - 2 Bacchi al natle.

97-98. - 2 Apollo al natle.

99-100. - 2 Lottatori al natle.

101. - 1 Antinoo di marmo al natle.

102. - 1 Adone di marmo al natle.

103. - 1 Mercurio di marmo al natle.

104. - 1 Apollo di marmo al natle.

105. - 1 Costanzo di marmo armato Imperre.

106. - 1 Marco Aurelio di marmo Imperre.

107. - 1 Bacco di marmo.

108. - 1 Hercole di marmo.

109. - 1 Ottaviano di marmo armato Impre.

110. - 1 Traiano di marmo armato Impre.

111. - 1 Venere di marmo.

112. - 1 Fauno di marmo.

113-114. - 2 Apollo di marmo.

115. - 1 Marsia apicchato al tronco di marmo.

116. - 1 Sileno di bronzo più del natle.

117. - 1 Marte di bronzo al natle.

118-142. - 25 Teste di marmo.

Scoperto fuora della Galleria.

143. - 1 Pilo di marmo storiato di mezzo rilievo d' un sacrificio di gentile coperto di rame serve per l' aqua della stufa.

144-149. - 6 Tigre di marmo.

Facciata del Palazzo-Quardo di mezzo.

150. - 1 Fregio di marmo di mezzo rilievo che tiene da una banda a l' altra.

151-162. - 12 Quadri di marmo di diverse storie di mezzo rilievo che 2 un po minori.

163-166. - 2 Maschere di marmo intere e 2 mezze maschere simili.

167-170. - 2 Teste di marmo intere di lione e 2 mezze simili.

171-172. - 2 Medaglie di marmo con due teste dentro.

173. - 1 Testa di marmo da donna nel seraglio de archo.

174. - 1 Arme grande di travertino di S. A.

Quadro verso il Popolo.

175. - 1 Fregio di marmo di mezzo rilievo che tiene da un cantone a l' altro.

176-183. - 8 Statue di marmo che 6 di donne vestite e dua d' hoi nudi che uno Merchurio e altro Ottaviano giovine.

184-185. - 2 Statue di dua Prigioni ch' un di Porfido e un di marmo su loro piedistalli che puosano in terra.

186-187. - 2 Teste di marmo grandi.

188-190. - 3 Quadri di marmo che dua di storie di mezzo rilievo e uno di festoni.

191. - 1 Statua di marmo d'una musa a sedere in mezzo a dua sedili.

Quadro verso la Ternita.

192. - 1 Fregio di marmo di mezzo rilievo che tiene da un cantone a l' altro.

193-200. - 8 Statue di marmo che 6 donne vestite una nuda e una d' Apollo.

201-202. - 2 Statue di due Prigioni di Porfido su lor piedistalli che puosano in terra.

203-204. - 2 Teste di marmo.

205-207. - 3 Quadri di marmo di 1/2 rilievo, che 2 d' historie e un di festoni.

208. - 1 Statua di marmo di una Musa a sedere in mezzo a 2 sedili.

Su le 2 torrette.

209-216. - 8 Statue di marmo che 6 di Maschi nudi e 2 di donne vestite.

217-218. - 2 Teste grandi di marmo di colossi che una di un Giove et altra d'un Comodo.

219-222. - 4 Statue di marmo che dua di donne vestite e una d'un Hercole e una d'un Baccho in cima all torrette.

Facciata di fuora alla Galleria.

223-230. - 8 Statue di marmo che 4 di donne che v'e 3 Giunoni e una Minerva e quattro d' hoi che un Druso Germanico, un Giove, un Apollo, a un Hercole su lor piedistalli.

231. - 1 Testa di marmo grande d'un colosso di Traiano.

232. - 1 Statua di marmo d' un Baccho a sedere che li mancha un braccio.

233. -1 Statua di marmo d' una Baccante senza braccia.

234. - 1 Statua di marmo d' una donna vestita manca mezzi bracci.

235. - 1 Statua di Pastore e sedere che suona la seringa.

236. - 1 Statua di marmo Donna vestita senza testa e senza braccia.

237-238. - 2 Torsi di marmo di due statue senza braccia, na testa, ne piedi.

239- 241. - 3 Pezzi di mezzi rilievi di marmo rotti che un v' e' un Putto con un candelliere.

242-243. - 2 Torsi di Donne vestite di marmo.

244. - Testa d' un Leon di marmo.

Nella Piazza.

245-246. - 2 Pili di granito grandi a navicelle che uno con maschare di leone.

247. - 1 Leone di marmo che li mancha la corda.

248-249. - 2 Pili ordinari di marmo storiati di 1/2 rilievo che uno è il ratto delle Sabine e nel' altro la storia d' Iona.

250-264. - 15 Piedistalli di marmo piu parte on lre.

265. - 1 Piedistallo di marmo bigio.

266-267. - 2 Torsi di marmo di 2 giovani.

268-269. - 2 Figurine di marmo di donne vestite senza teste ne braccia.

270-271. - 2 Pezzi di marmo che un Pezzo di sepultura con figure e l' altro un pezzo di festone.

272. - 1 Statua di granito a sedere senza testa la Dea de Hierogrifici.

273. - 1 Pezzo di festone di marmo di 1/2 rilievo lun. p. 8 e lar. p. 5.

274. - 1 Torso di marmo di un Impre armato.

275. - 2 Colonne di granito ch' una rossa e una bianca lun. da 20 à 22 p.

276. - Piu pezzi di marmi bianchi, porte sante e altre pietre rozze.

Facciatia della Grotta al Pie del Boscho.

277-282. - 6 Statue di marmo nelle nicchie che 2 Impri 1 Nettuno, 1 Hercole e 2 consuli ch' un di porfido su lor piedistalli.

283. - 1 Griffone di marmo con una rotta sotto al Piede.

284. - 1 Statua di marmo a colosso di una Roma anticha manca le braccia.

285. - 1 Cane cerbero di marmo rotto.

286. - 1 Statua di marmo di una Pallade senza braccia.

287-288. - 2 Montoni di marmo nero antichi.

289-294. - 6 Quadri di marmo di varie historie di 1/2 rilievo murati nel muro.

295. - 1 Torso di un huomo di selce gentile.

296. - 1 Torso di breccia di piu colori d' un Prigione.

297. - 1 Pilo di marmo con 3 festoni e dua maschere.

298. - 1 Testa di una Sabbina di marmo.

299. - 1 Guglia di granito su 4 tartatruche di metallo tutta con lre hieroglifiche su il piedistallo di marmo saligno e palla di rame dorato in cima.

300. - 1 Piedistallo piccolo con 6 faccie.

Schala che va nel bosco.

301. - 1 Galatea di marmo sopra un cavallo marino.

302. - 1 Piedistallo Piccholo di marmo.

303. - 1 Statua di marmo a sedere di una Giulia Mamea.

304. - 1 Pilo di marmo nel boscho.

305. - 1 Tazza di granito sopra un pie di marmo per fonte sul monte.

Loggia in capo alle nicche dove si restaura.

306-307. - 2 Statue di marmo sopra una basa a sedere d' un pastor con la zampogna e un satiro al naturale.

308. - 1 Venere nuda di marmo al naturale.

309. - 1 Pallade di porfido piú del naturale con testa braccia piedi e rotella di marmo biancho.

310. - 1 Statua Minerva marmo rotta senza braccia ne piedi.

311. - 1 Statua Consolo a sedere marmo bigio e la testa e braccia e piedi sono di marmo biancho.

312. - 1 Statua di marmo nuda al naturale senza testa ne braccia e una gamba.

313. - 1 Statua di marmo piúdel naturale nuda Netunno sopra un caval marino.

314. - 1 Apollo di marmo al natle.

315. - 1 Merchurio di marmo al natle mancha una mano.

316. - 1 Statua di marmo al natle femmina inchinata simile a una di quelle della Niobe.

317. - 2 Colonne e 4 Tavole.

318. - 1 Statuina di marmo picchola vestita senza testa ne braccia.

319-323. - 5 Piletti piccholi con inscritione che servivano per seplture antiche di marmo.

Sopra le mura dinazzi al palazzo.

324. - 4 Vettine di terra antiche.

325. - Piú colonne e basi.

Loggia lungho le mura.

326. - 1 Cleopatra di marmo a giacere morta più che le natle.

Loggetta sopra le mura.

327. - 1 Testa di marmo.

328. - 1 Venerina di marmo senza braccia.

329. - 1 Pezzo di marmo dentrovi un Tempietto d 1/2 rilievo che fa prospettiva.

330-335. - Vari Pezzi di marmo, due figure di 1/2 rilievo, due figure et un Toro di 1/2 rilievo, tre puttini.

Nella stanza dove si rimette vasi.

336. - 1 Pilo di marmo biancho storiato delle historie d' Ifigenia.

337. - 1 Pilo di alabastro.

Stanzo sopra la mura.

338. - 1 Venere di marmo a sedere al natle che si lava.

339. - 1 Venerina che dorme di 1/2 rilievo di marmo p. 2 1/4.

340. - 1 Cupido che dorme di 1/2 rilievo di marmo p. 2.

341. - 1 Testa di marmo di Cleopatra.

Stanzino da basso.

342. - Vari pezzi di marmi e di colonne.

343. - 1 Testa di tigra di breccia gialla, rossa e bigia.

344-345. - 2 Testoline di 2 Terminetti, uno di marmo giallo e l' altro di marmo bianco.

Testa del viale Longo.

346-359. - 14 Statua di marmo delle historie della Niobe che la Niobe con la figlia atachata messa per una, Antione marito di Niobe, 6 figli maschi e 6 femmine senza quella atachhatta alla Mre.

360. - 1 Cavallo di marmo magio de natle.

361. - 1Animale a modo di barbagianni con naturale in testo do priapo.

362. - 1 Tavola di marmo con inscritione.

363. - 1 Pilo di marmo scanellato a ese in capo al viale della cerchiata.

364-435. - 72 Termini di marmo per tutto il giardino.

436. - 1 Pilo di marmo con figure di basso rilievo in capo al viale in verso Roma.

Nel cortile del Giardiniero.

437. - 1 Pilo di marmo simile al sopra detto.

Soffitte sopra le stanze della loggia.

438. - 15 Forme di gesso delle statue e del cavallo della niobe.

Stanza dove si ristaura le statue.

439. - 1 Mezza testa d'un colosso d' un Oceano dal occhi in giu con un palmo di petto di marmo biancho.

440. - Altra testa simile dalle ciglia in giù.

441. - 1 Torso d' un cavallo del nilo di selcie gentile do Ipopatos.

442. - 1 Torso Minerva o Flora piccola a sedere con corno di divitia senza testa.

443. - 1 Navicella di marmo rotta nel mezzo.

444. - 1 Griffone di marmo senza becco.

445. - 1 Corazza di marmo.

446. - 1 Testa di marmo grande Minerva con il cimiero.

447. - 1 Statua d' un Giovene di marmo che fuggie, della historia di Niobe.

448. - 1 Statua di marmo Marte nudo.

449. - 1 Torsetto Venere marmo.

450. - 1 Torso di marmo bigio con la testa Fauno.

451. - 1 Testa di marmo montone.

452. - 1 Delfino di marmo di p. 3 restaurato.

453. - 1 Faunetto moderno a sedere di marmo non finito.

454. - 1 Faunetto di marmo che sta asentato sopra un otro.

455. - 1 Cupidino di marmo a giacere l. p 2.

456. - 1 Testa di marmo Faustina.

457-458. - 2 Teste di marmo Donne antiche.

459-460. - 2 Candelieri di marmo antichi rotti con il sacrifitio de Priapo e l' altro di 3 virtu.

461-462. - 2 Torsi di marmo di 2 Bacchetti.

463-470. - 8 Teste di marmo Tiberio, Cupido, Comodo giovine e Lutio Vero.

Dentro la porta principale de palazzo.

471. - 64 Palmi in circa di tavole di marmo lavorate a fogliami di basso rilievo in pezzi 14 che 3 fatti moderni.

472. - 1 Statue di marmo d' un Apollo più del natle con truncho con la serpe sopra la base.

473. - 1 Vettina di marmo nel Giardino nuovo.

474. - 1 Torso di una Minerva a capo al viale di do giardino.

475. - 1 Tavola di marmo con inscritione.

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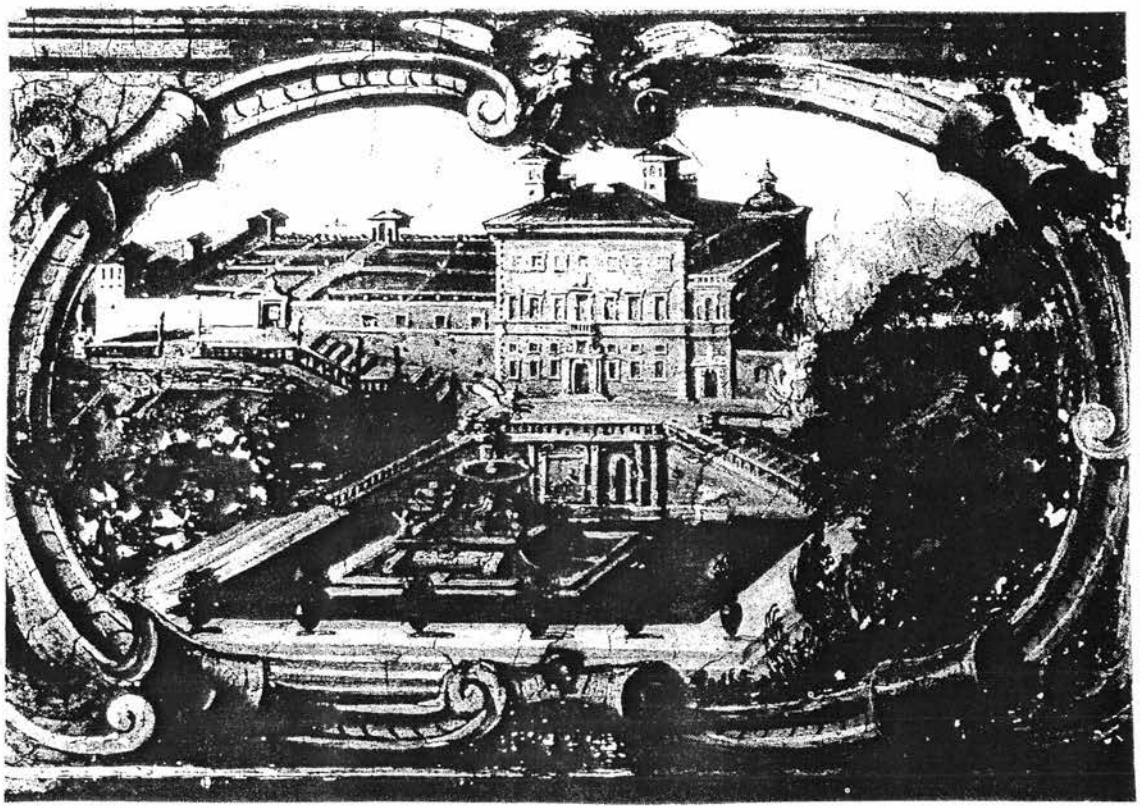


Fig. 1. Jacopo Zucchi, Villa Medici, Rome, c. 1576.

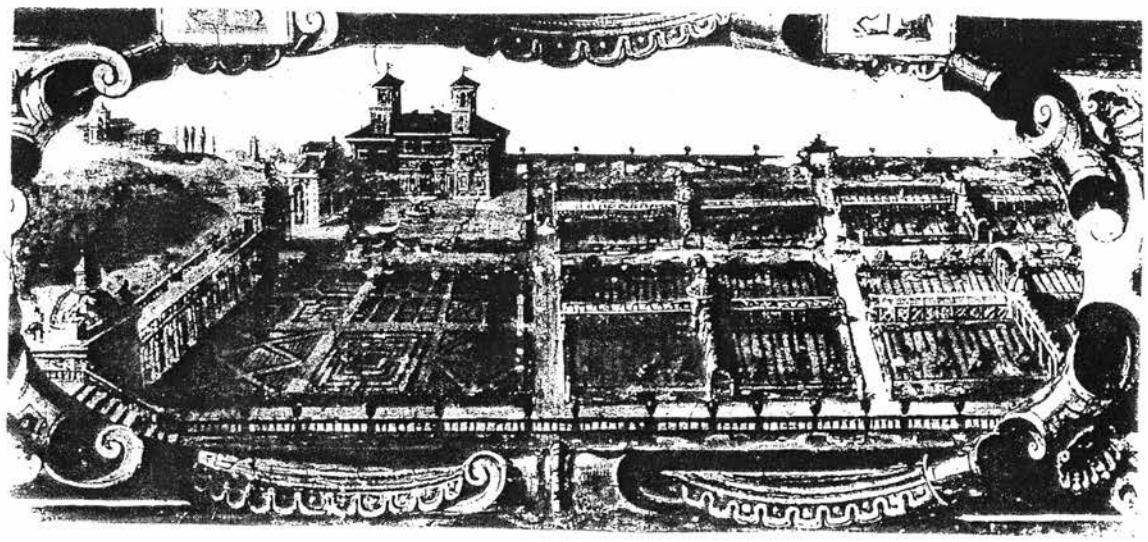


Fig. 2. Jacopo Zucchi, Villa Medici, Rome, c. 1576.

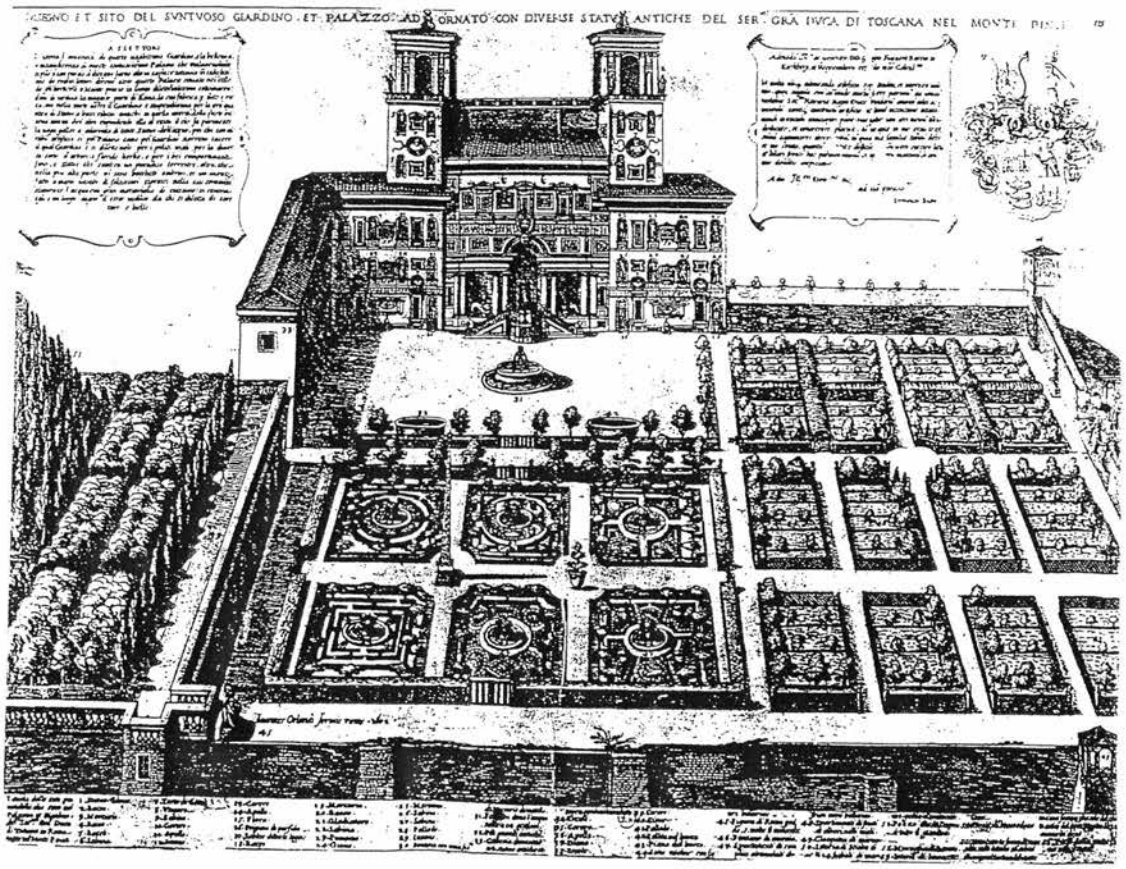


Fig. 3. Domenico Buti, Villa Medici, Rome, 1602, Paris, Bibliotèque, Nationale.

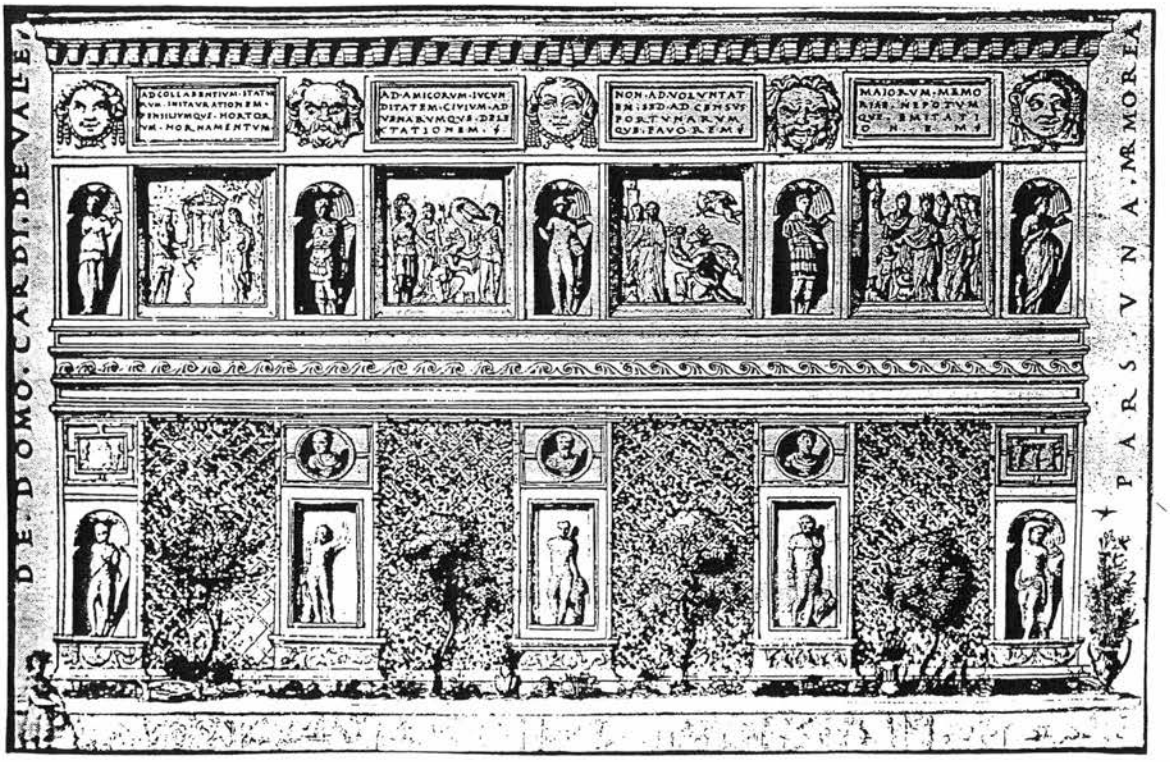


Fig. 4. Francisco D' Ollanda, Sculpture Garden of the Palazzo Della Valle, Rome.

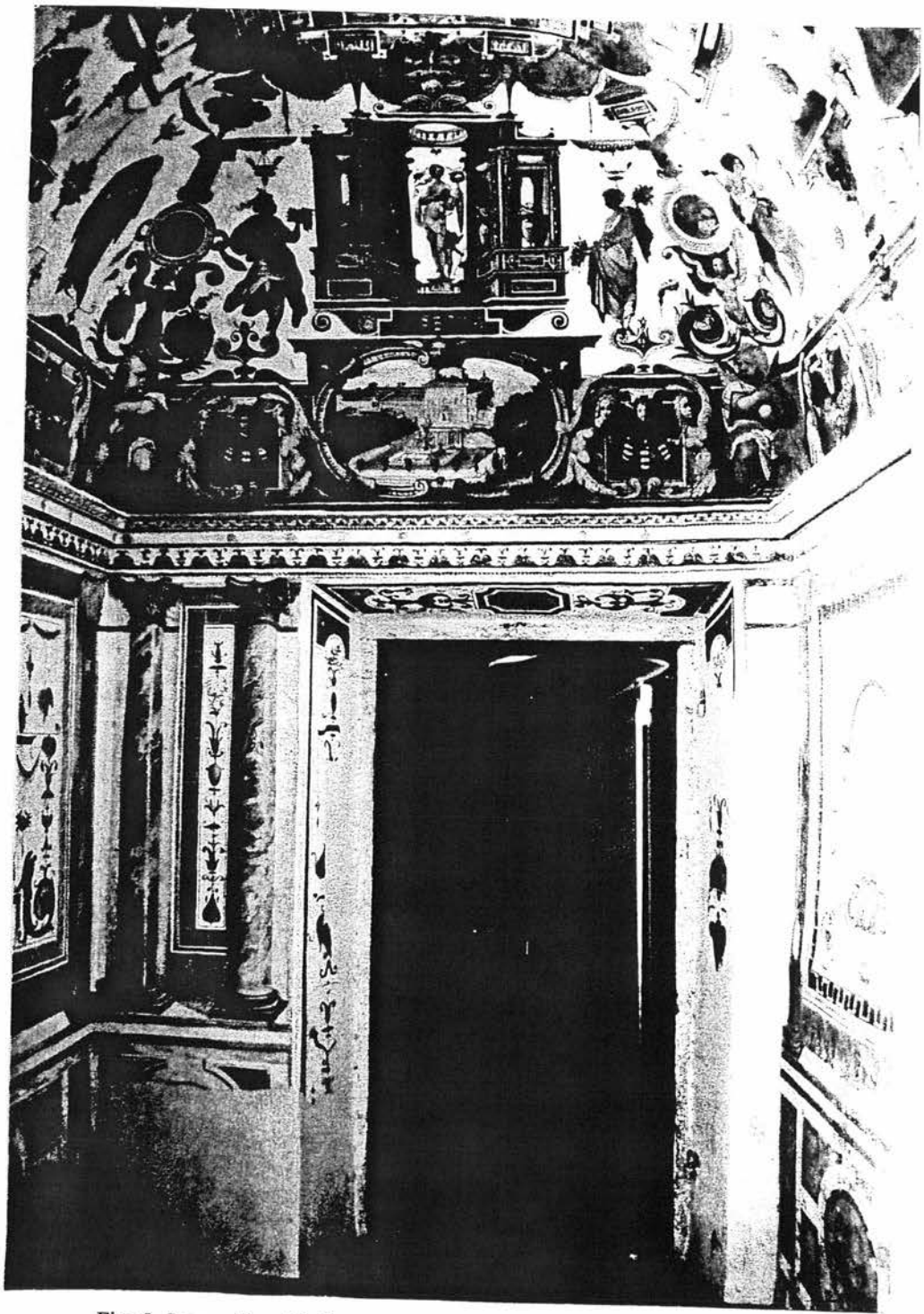


Fig. 5. Jacopo Zucchi, *Scrittoio* of the Villa Medici in Rome, c. 1576.

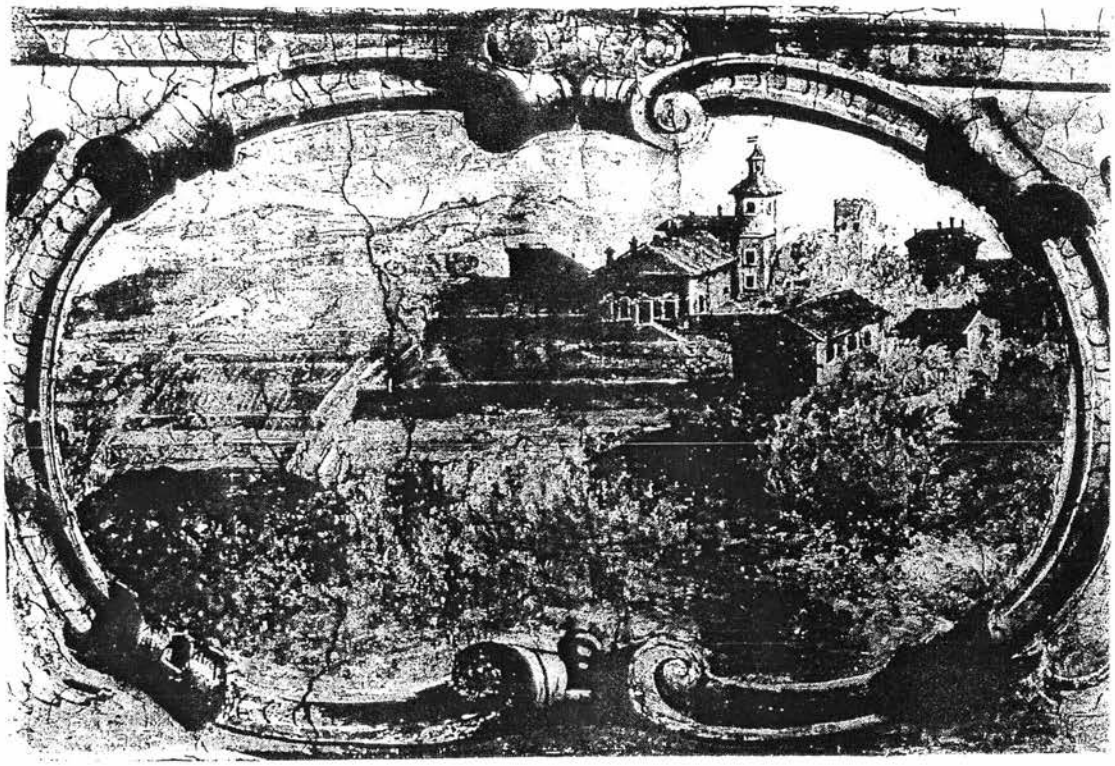


Fig. 6. Jacopo Zucchi, Vigna Ricci, Rome, c. 1576.

Fig. 7. Jacopo Zucchi, Villa Medici, Rome, c. 1576. (Detail of Fig. 2)

Fig. 8. Temple, Sacro Bosco, Bomarzo.

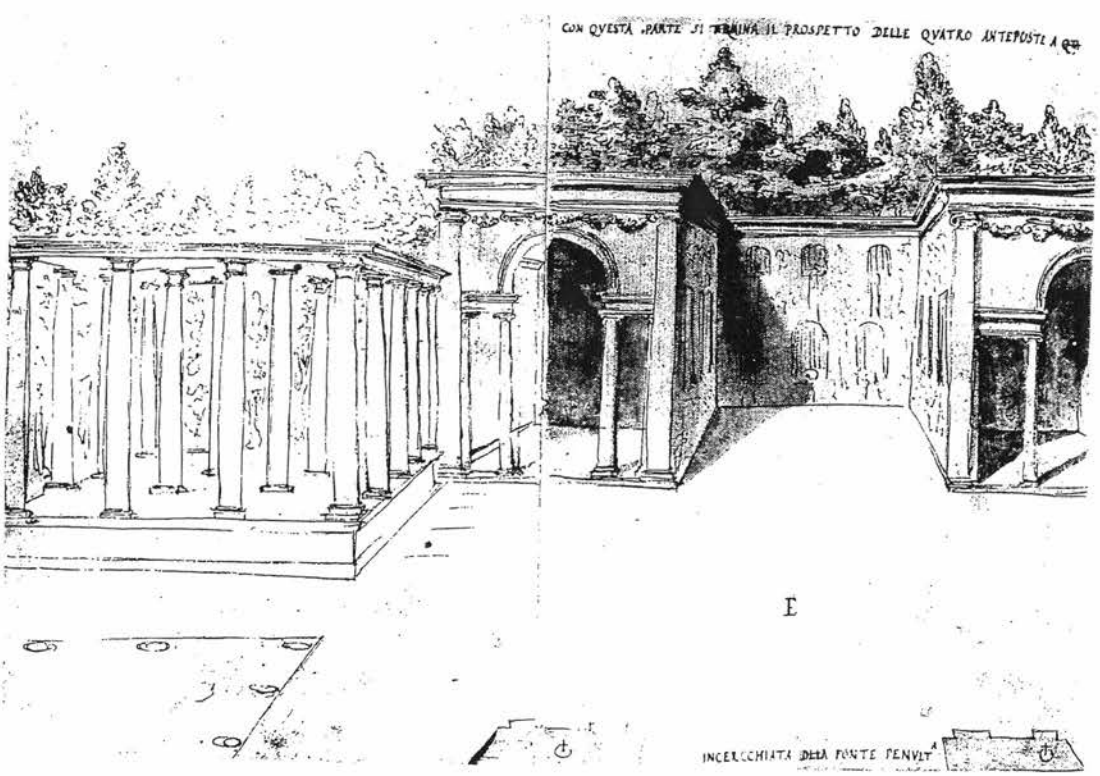


Fig. 9. Giovanni Guerra, Loggias of the Muses, Villa Lante, Bagnaia, 1604, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

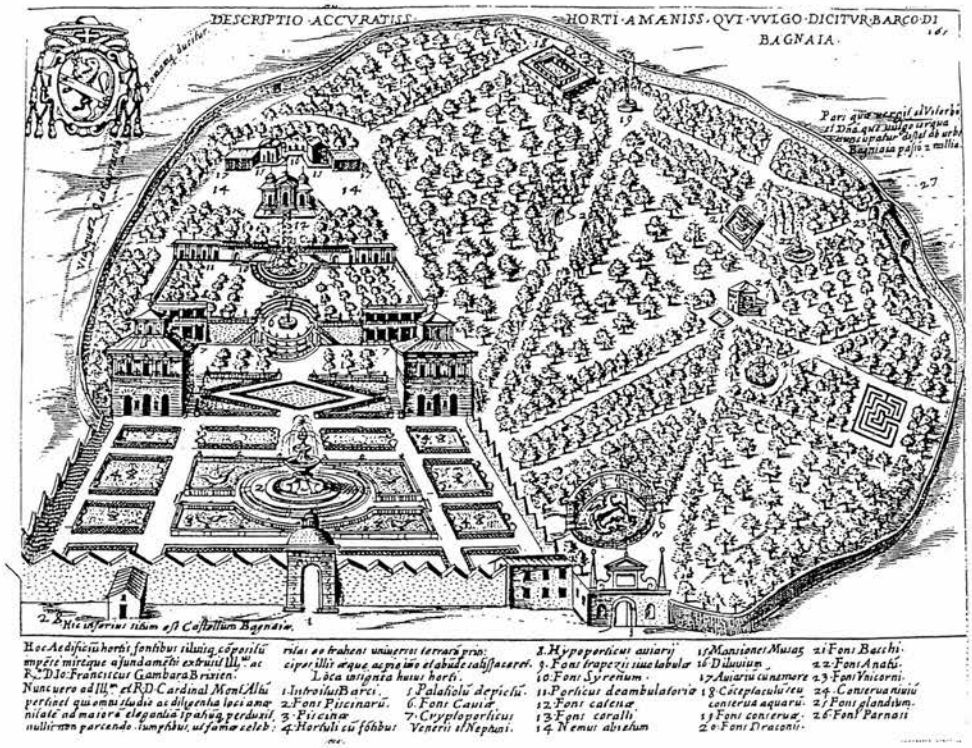


Fig. 10. Tarquinio Liguistri, Villa Lante, Bagnaia, 1596, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

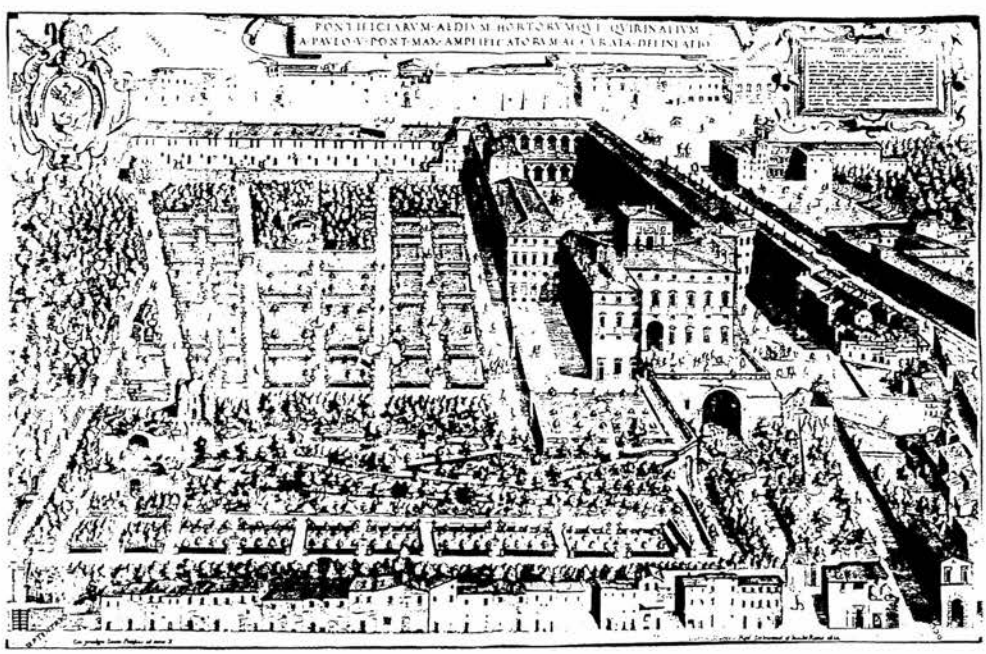


Fig. 11. Giovanni Maggi, Villa d'Este, Rome, 1612, London, British Museum.

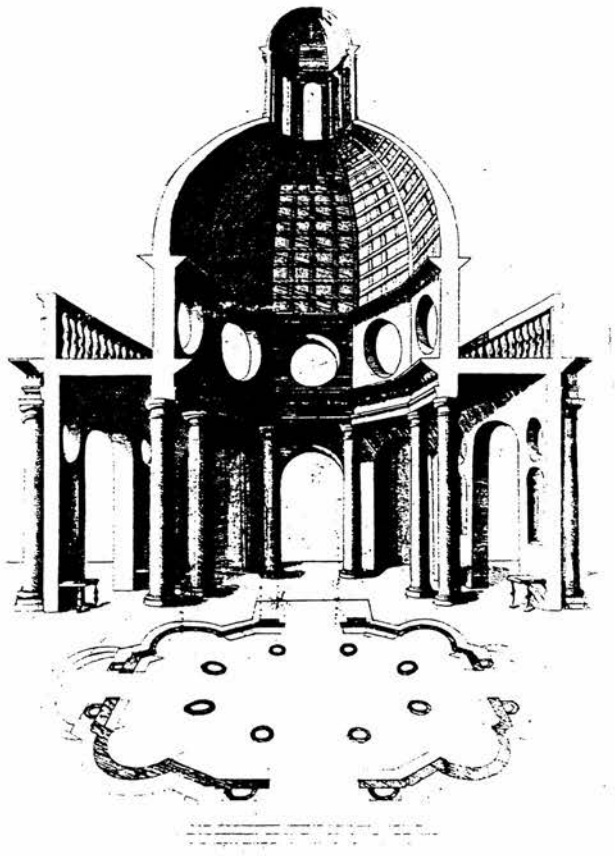


Fig. 12. Antonio Lafreri, Garden Pavilion for the Villa d' Este, Rome, 1573.

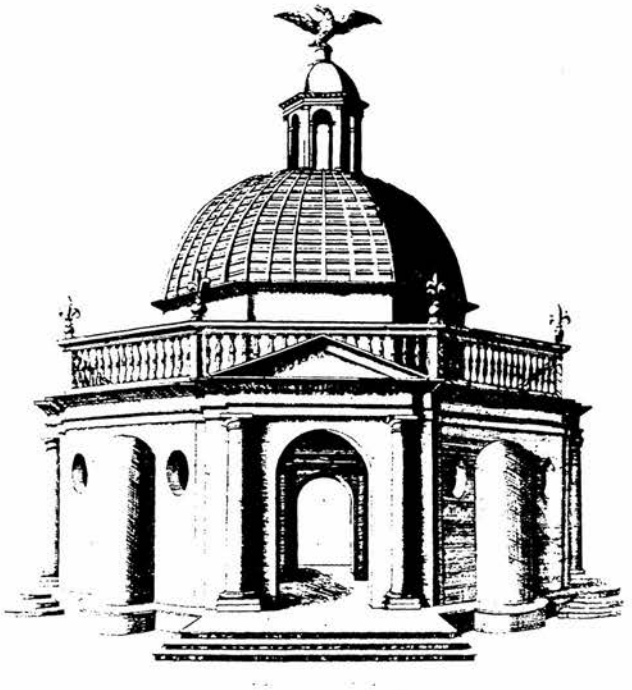


Fig. 13. Antonio Lafreri, Garden Pavilion for the Villa d' Este, Rome, 1573.

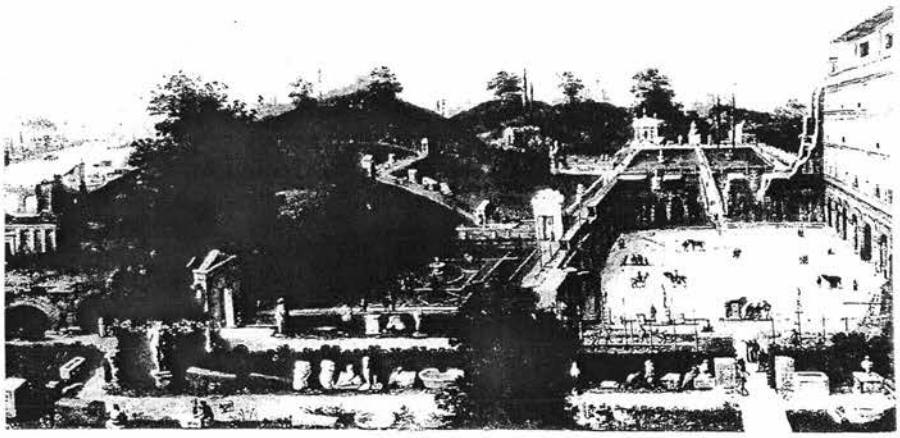


Fig. 14. Hendrick van Cleef, Vigna Cesi, Rome, 1550, Prague, Národní Galerie.

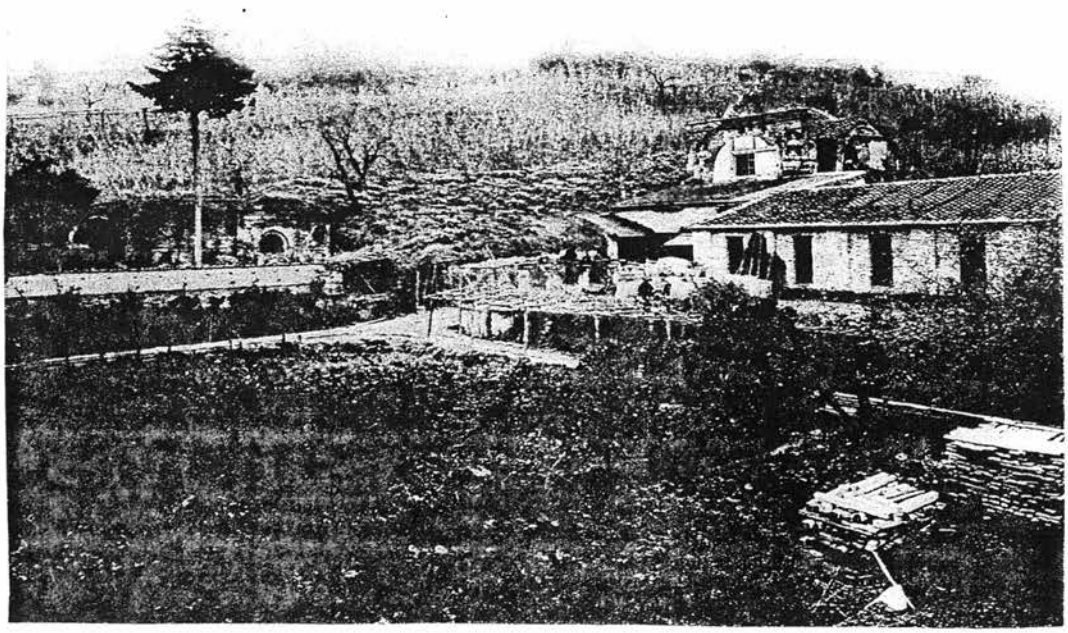


Fig. 15. Antiquarium of the Vigna Cesi, Rome.

Fig. 16. Antiquarium of the Vigna Cesi, Rome.

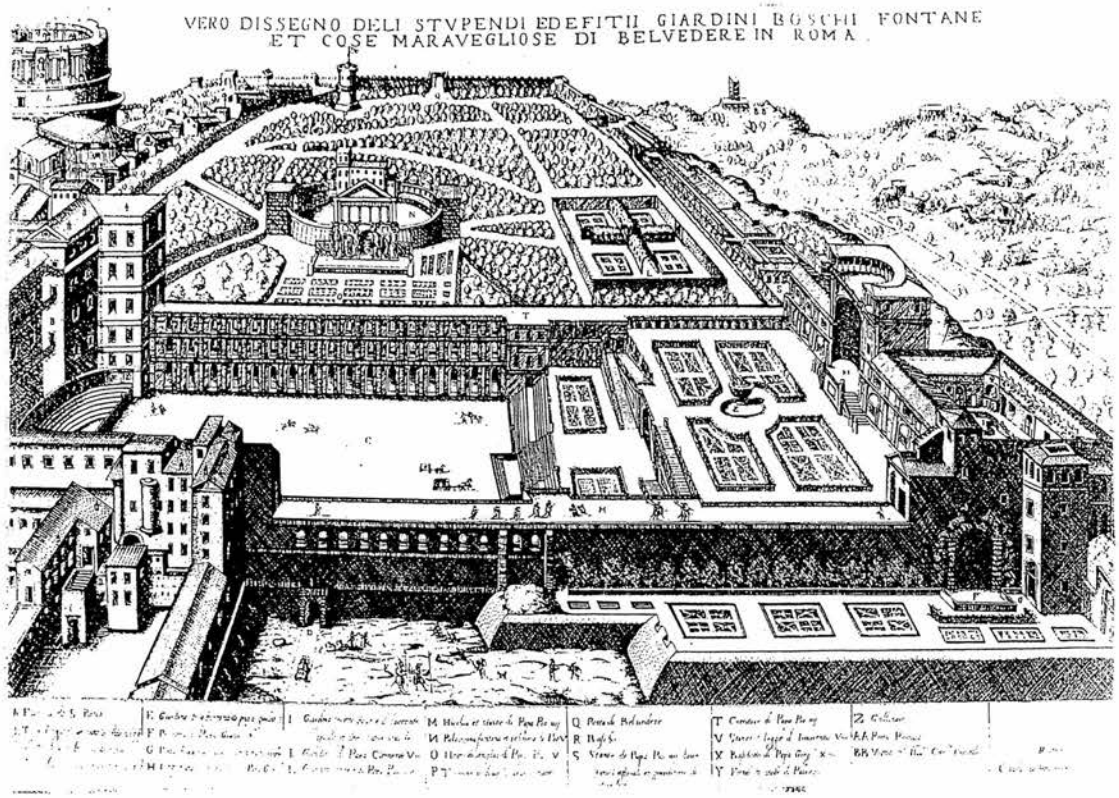


Fig. 17. Mario Cartari, Cortile del Belvedere, Vatican, Rome, 1574, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

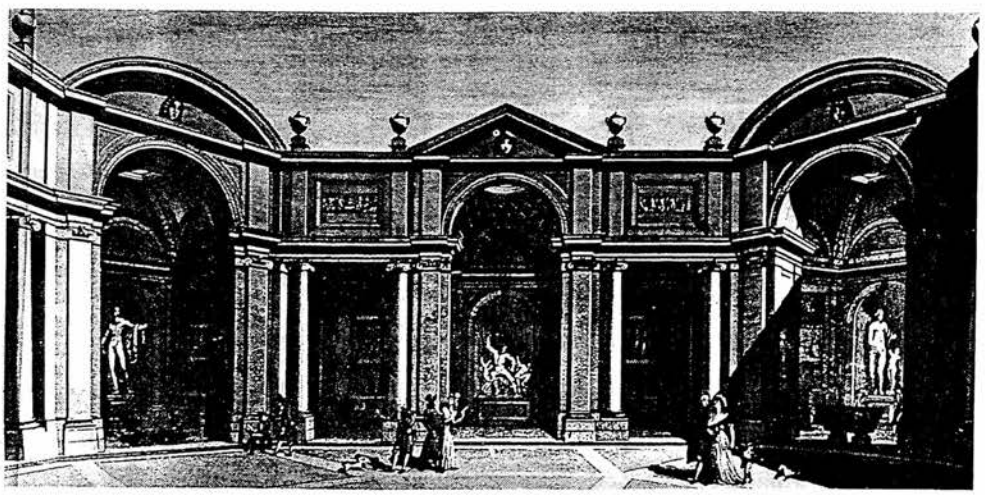


Fig. 18. Vincenzo Feoli, Statue Court of the Cortile del Belvedere, Vatican, Rome.

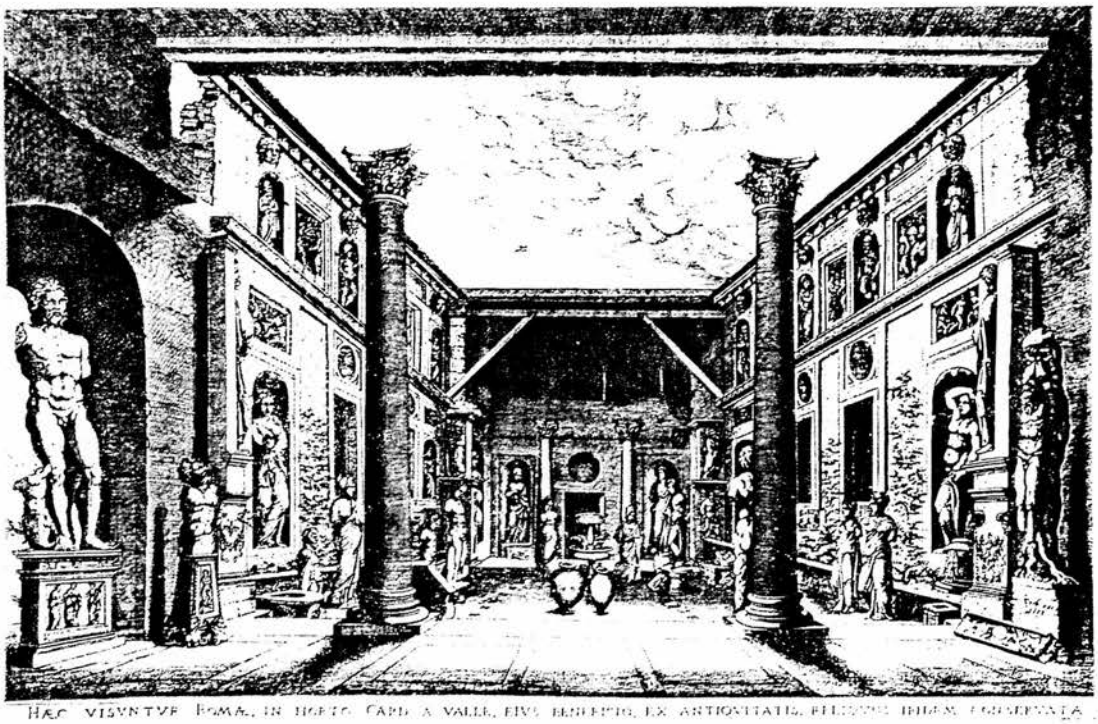


Fig. 19. Hieronymus Cock, Sculpture Garden of the Palazzo Della Valle, Rome.

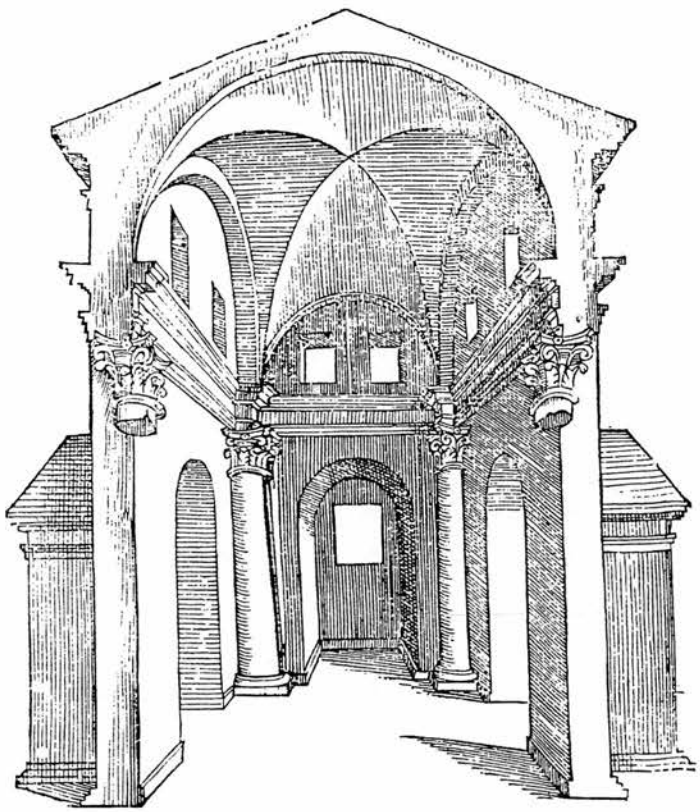


Fig. 20. Sebastiano Serlio, Antique Temple, c. 1540.

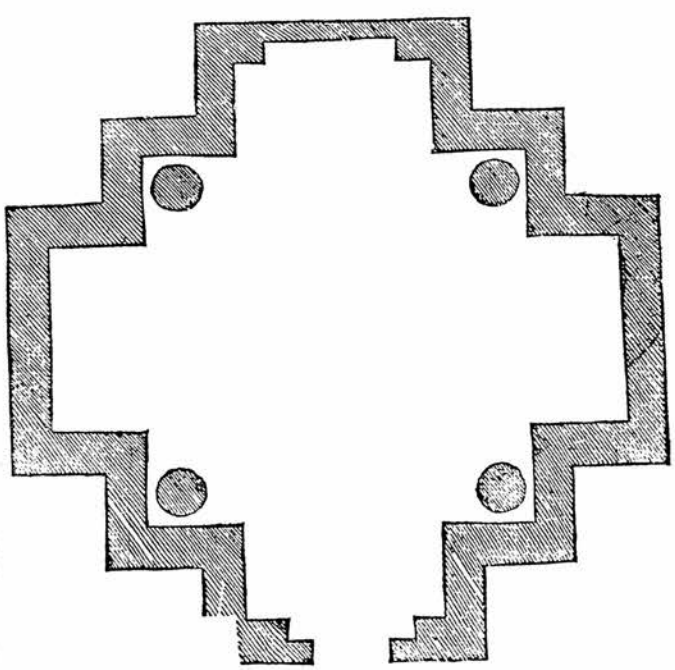


Fig. 21. Sebastiano Serlio, Antique Temple, c. 1540.

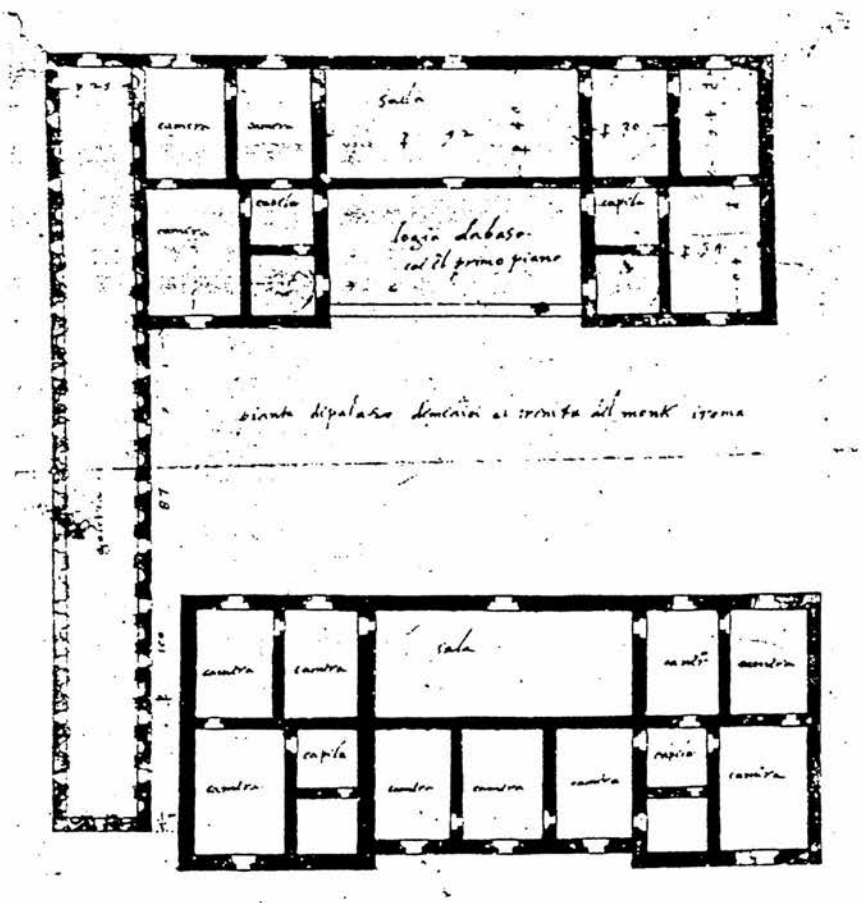


Fig. 22. Anonymous, Plans for the Villa Medici, Rome, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale.

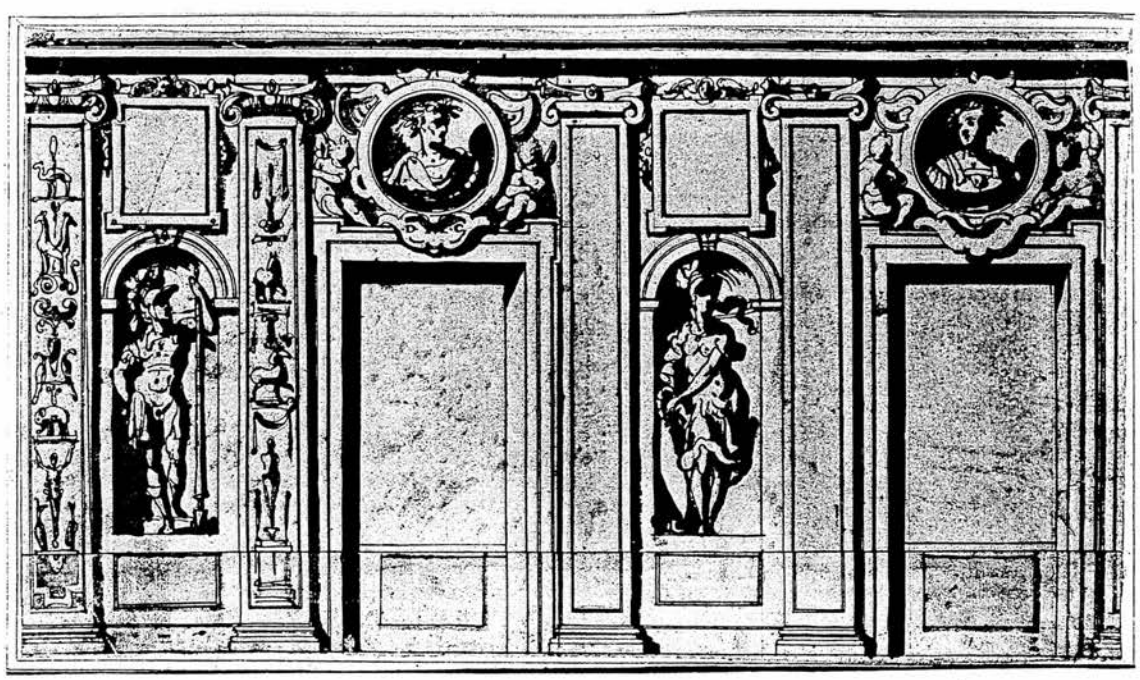


Fig. 23. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

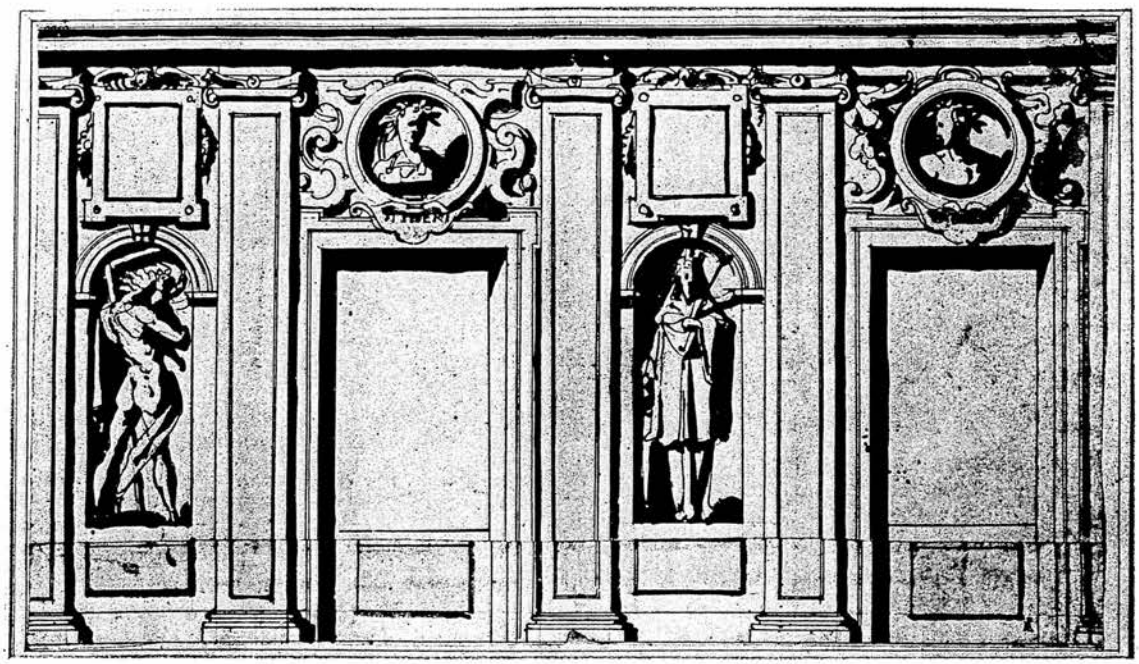


Fig. 24. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 25. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Royal Institute of British Architects.

Fig. 26. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Royal Institute of British Architects.

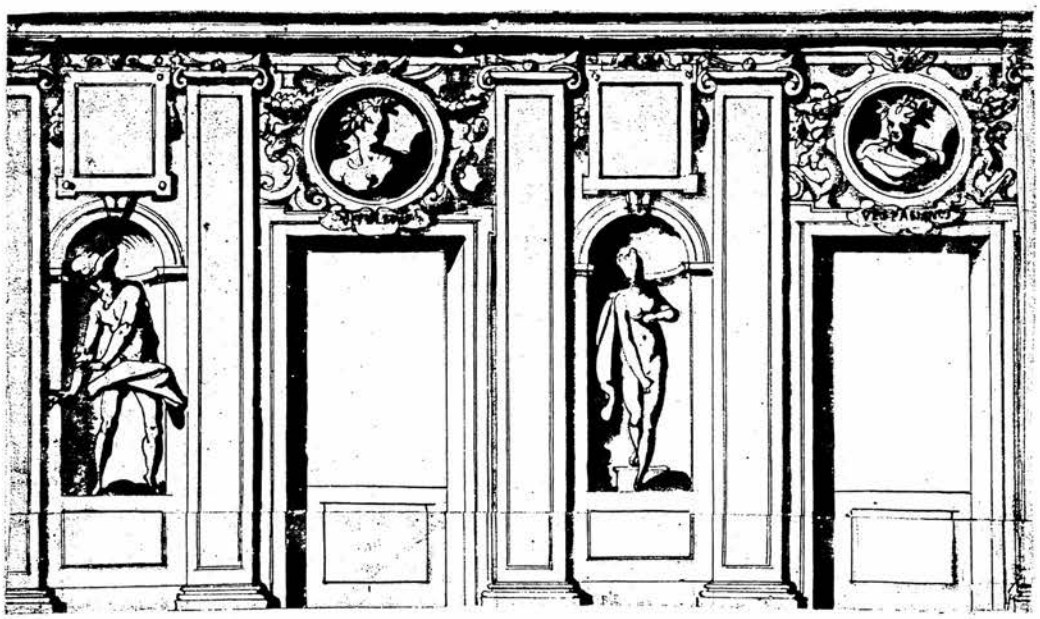


Fig. 27. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Royal Institute of British Architects.

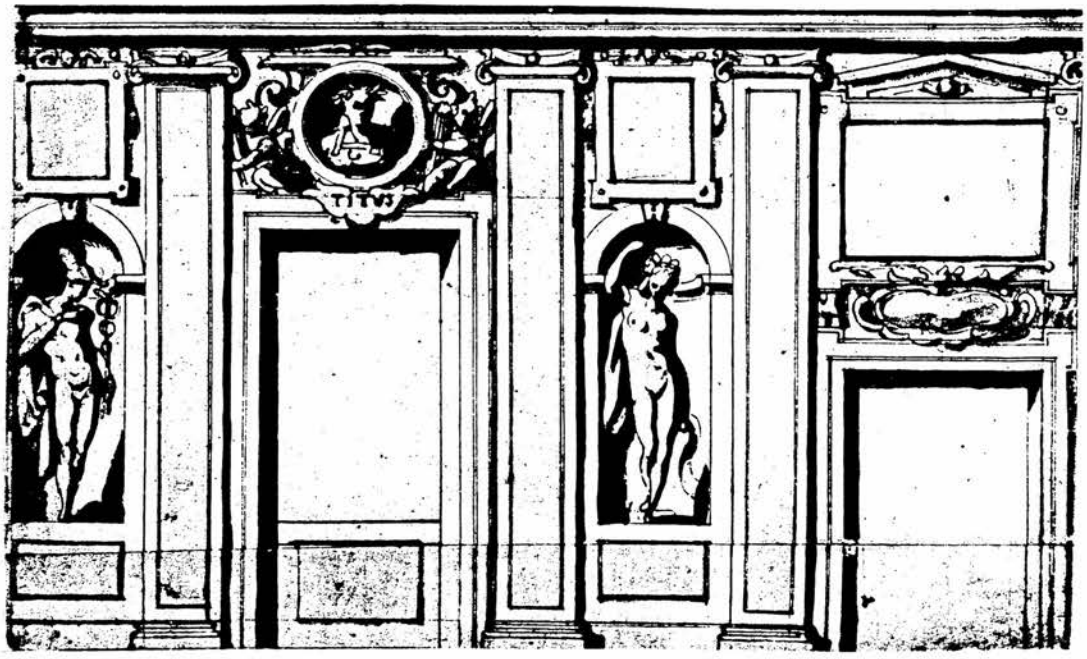


Fig. 28. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Royal Institute of British Architects.

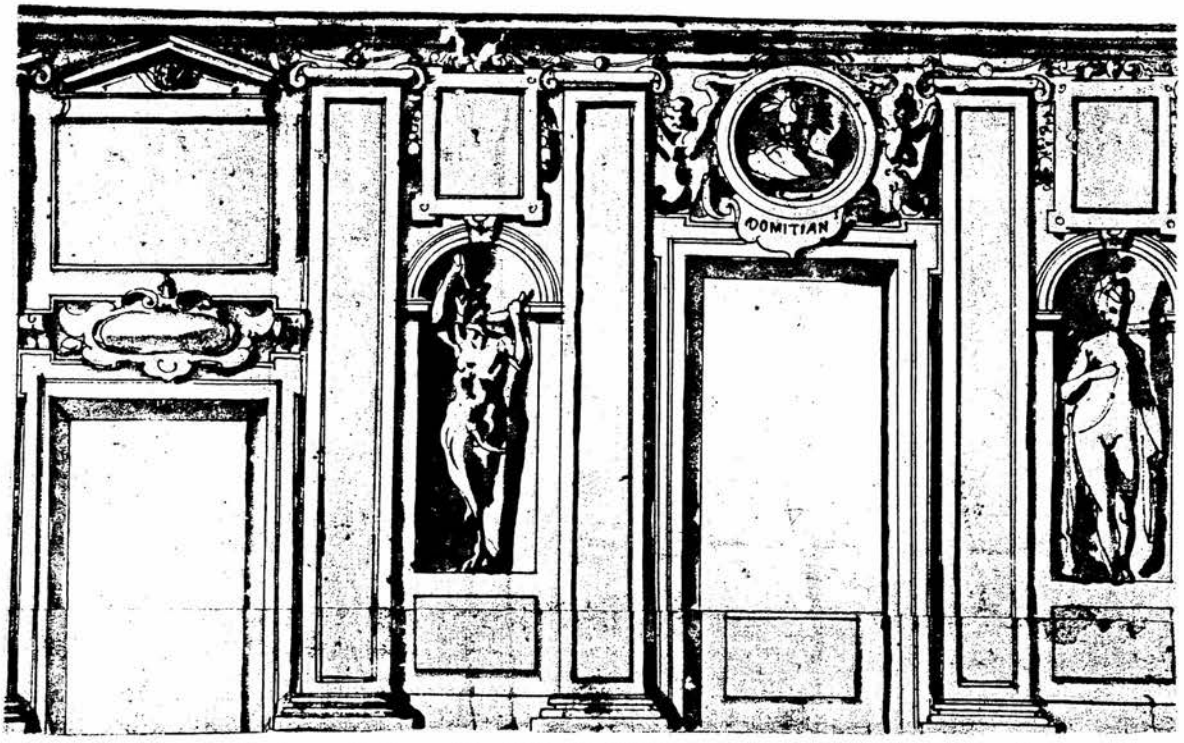


Fig. 29. Jacopo Zucchi, Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome, London, Royal Institute of British Architects.

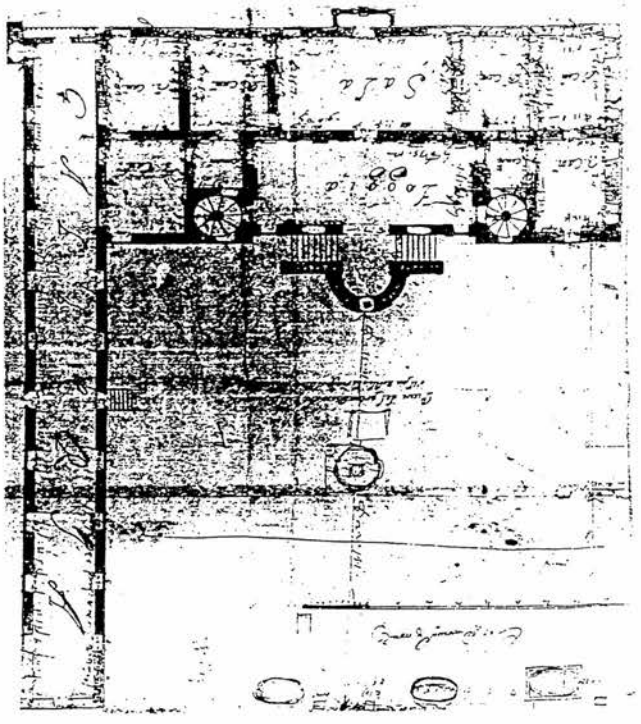


Fig. 30. Anonymous, Plan for the Villa Medici in Rome, 1616, Florence, Archivio di Stato.

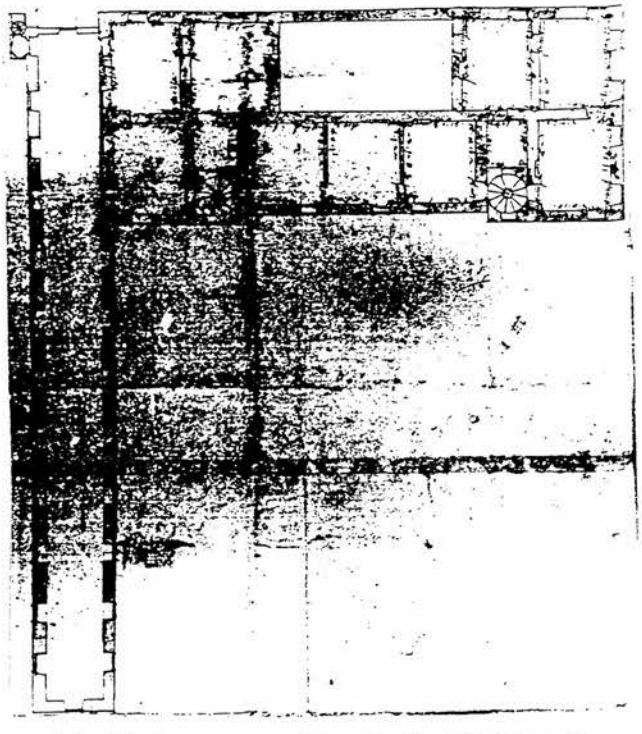


Fig. 31. Anonymous, Plan for the Villa Medici in Rome, 1616, Florence, Archivio di Stato.

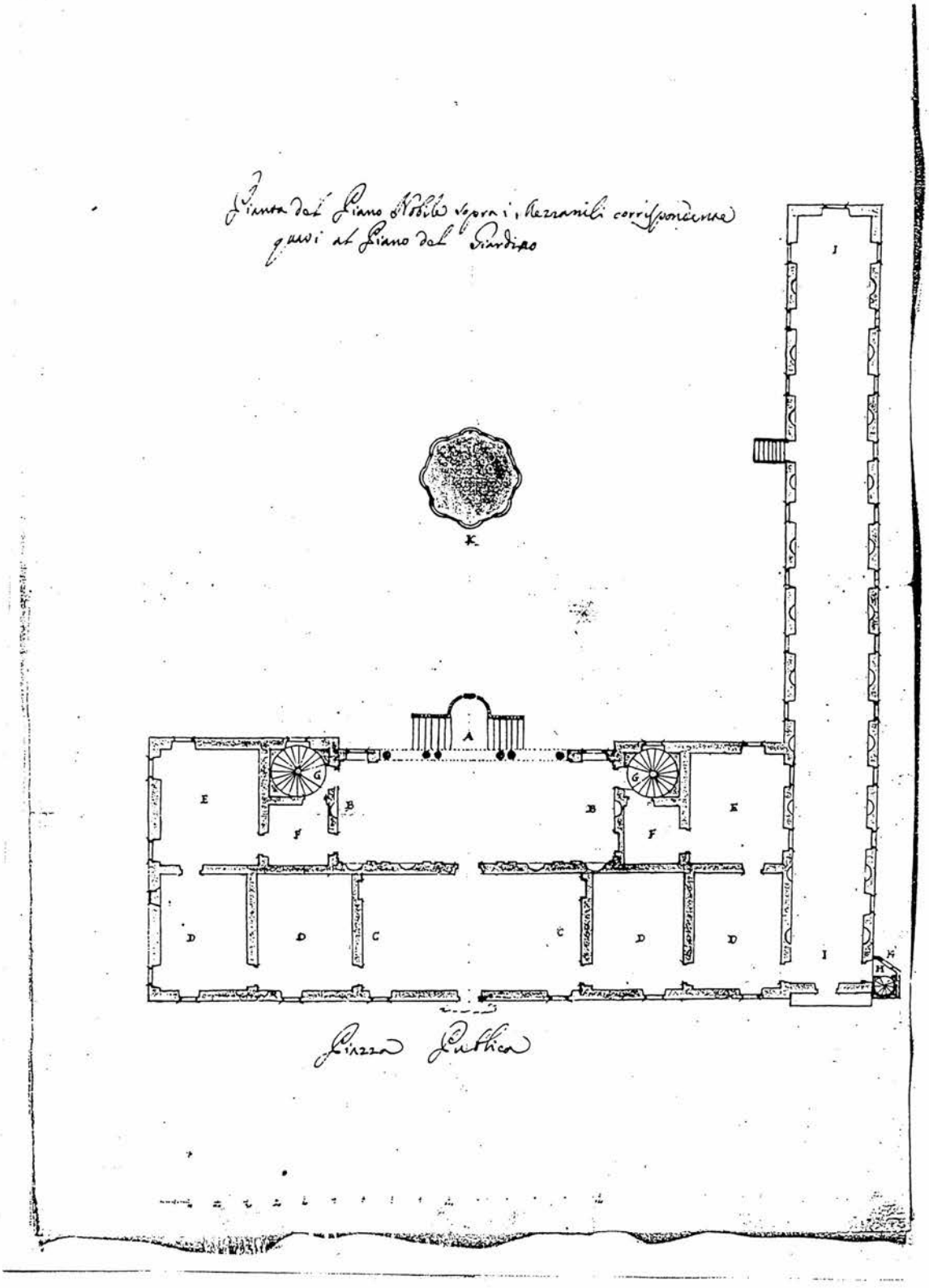


Fig. 32. Carlo Fontana, Villa Medici, Rome, c. 1699, Florence, Archivio di Stato.

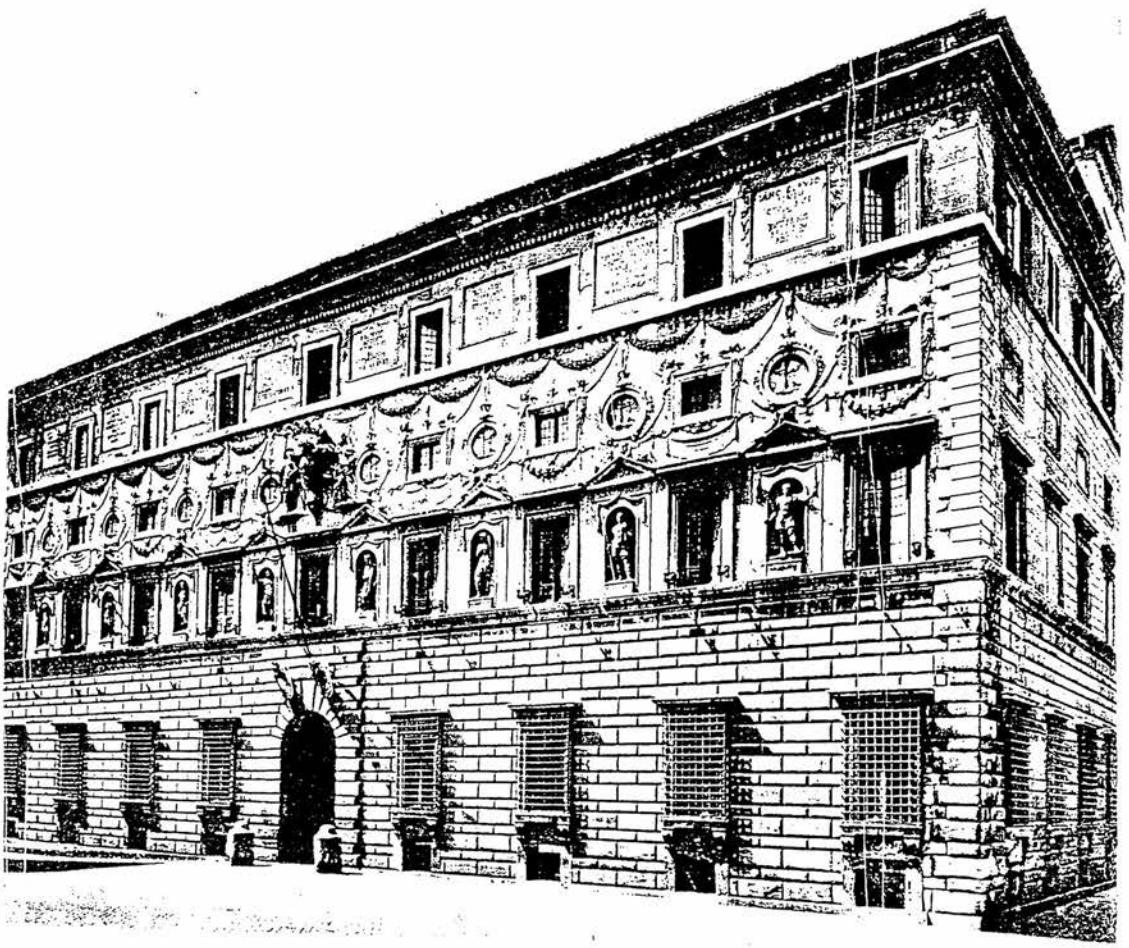
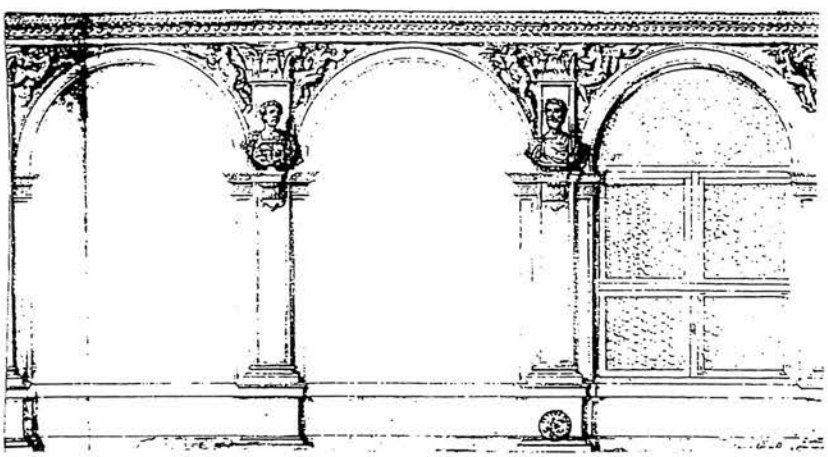


Fig. 33. Palazzo Spada, Rome.



34. Loggia dei Marmi of the Ducal Palace, Mantua.

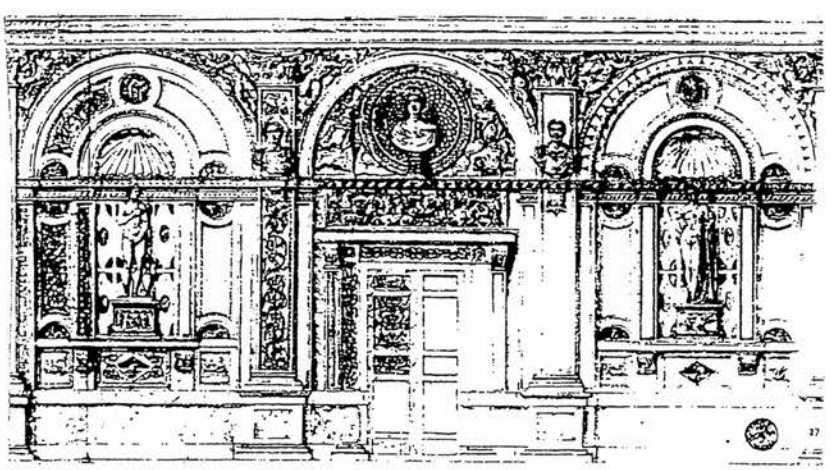


Fig. 35. Loggia dei Marmi of the Ducal Palace, Mantua.

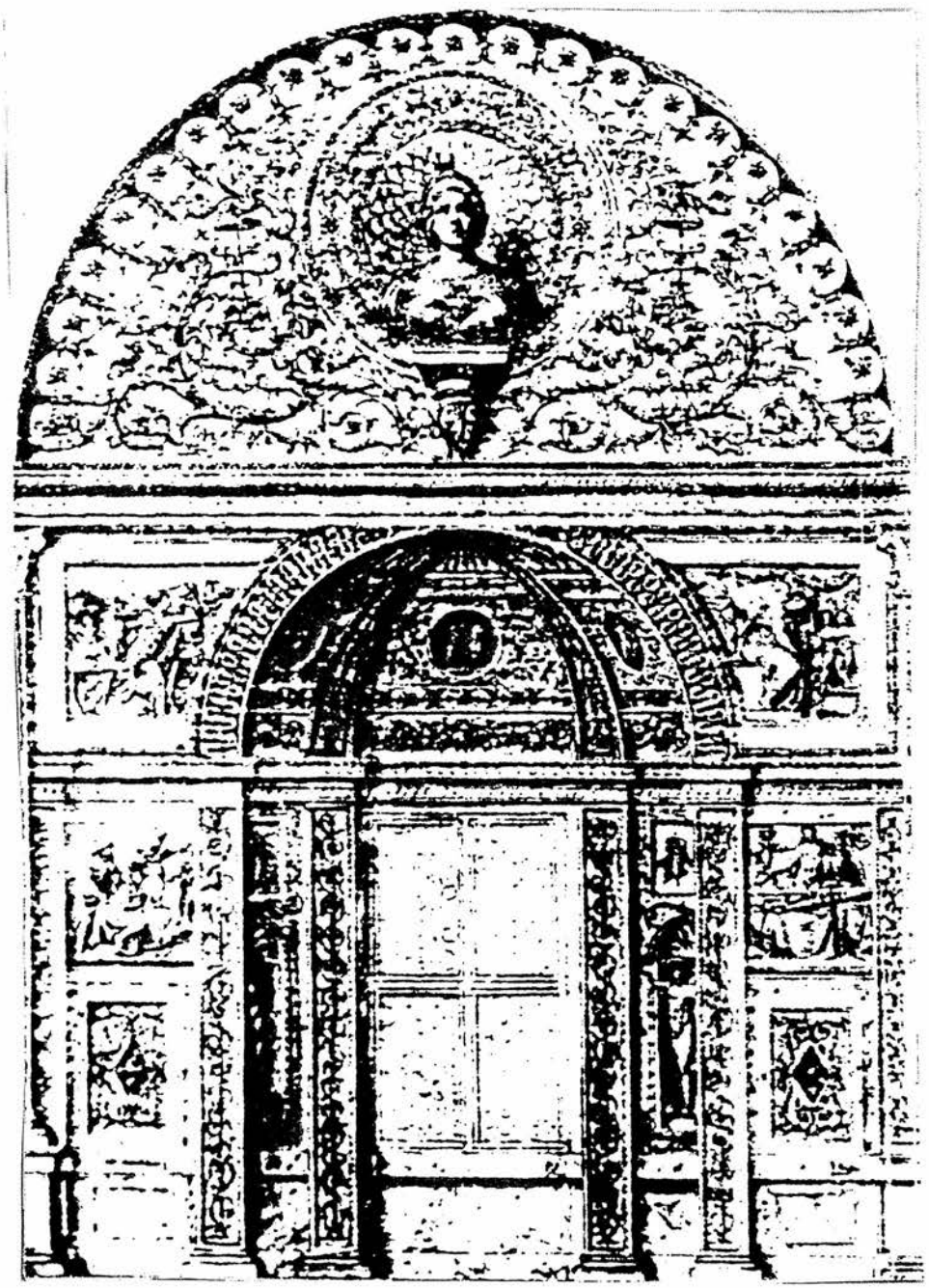


Fig. 36. Loggia dei Marmi of the Ducal Palace, Mantua.

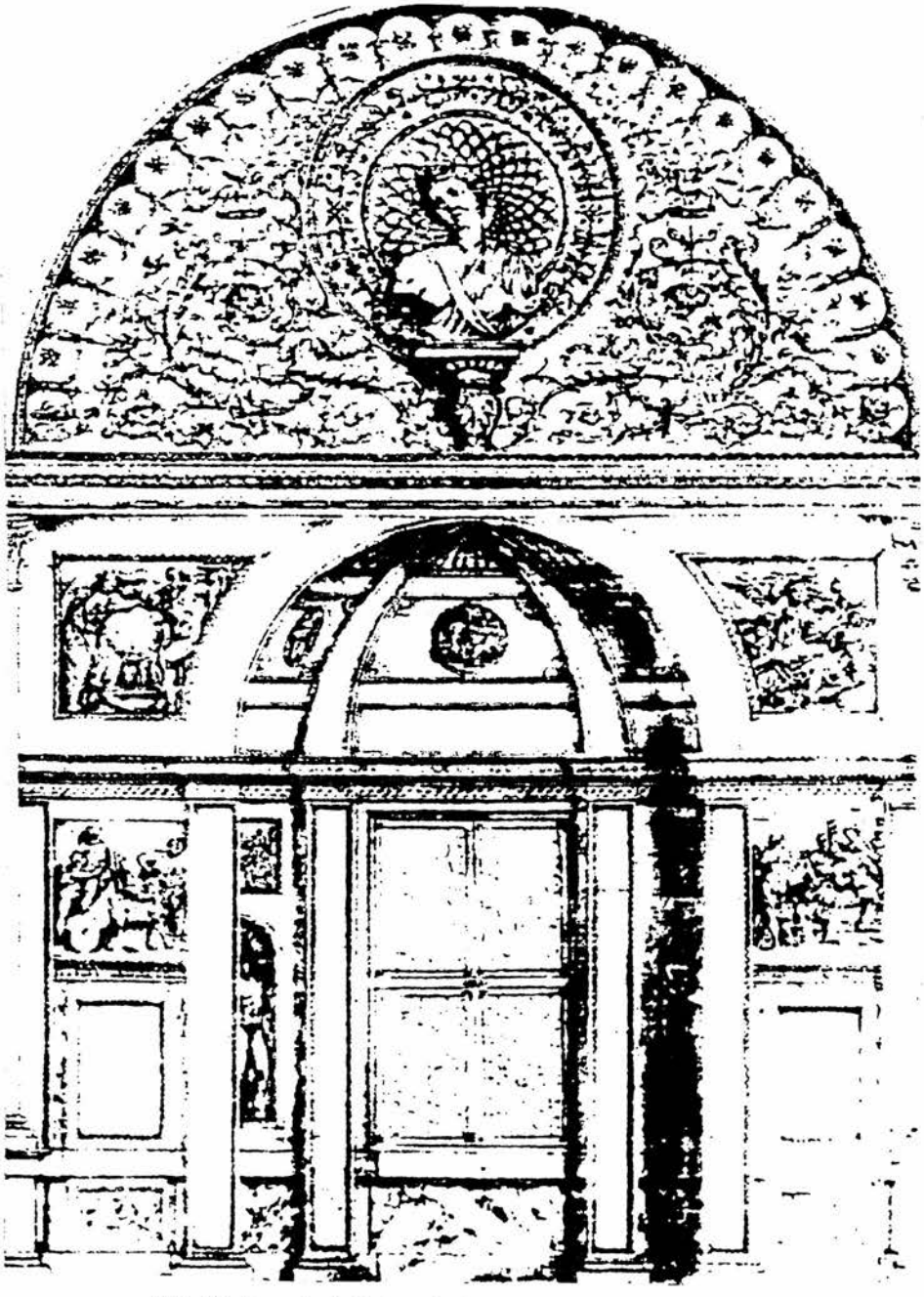


Fig. 37. Loggia dei Marmi of the Ducal Palace, Mantua.

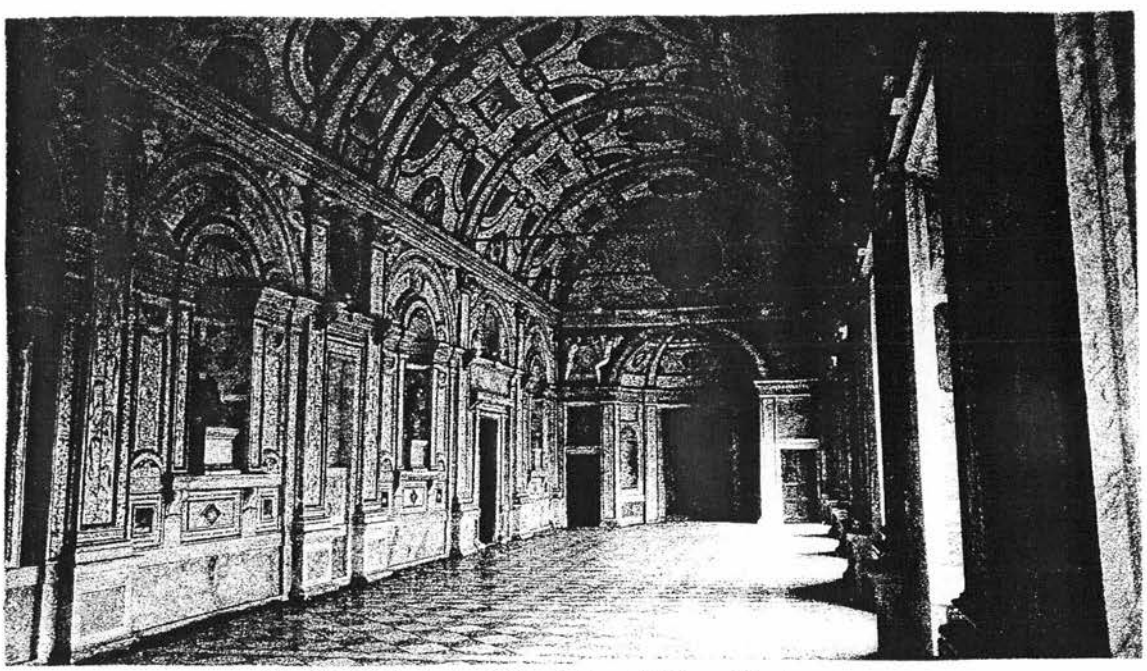


Fig. 38. Galleria degli Mesi, Ducal Palace, Mantua.

Fig. 39. Fresco in the Chapel of S. Jerome, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.

Fig. 40. Statue Gallery of the Villa Medici, Rome.

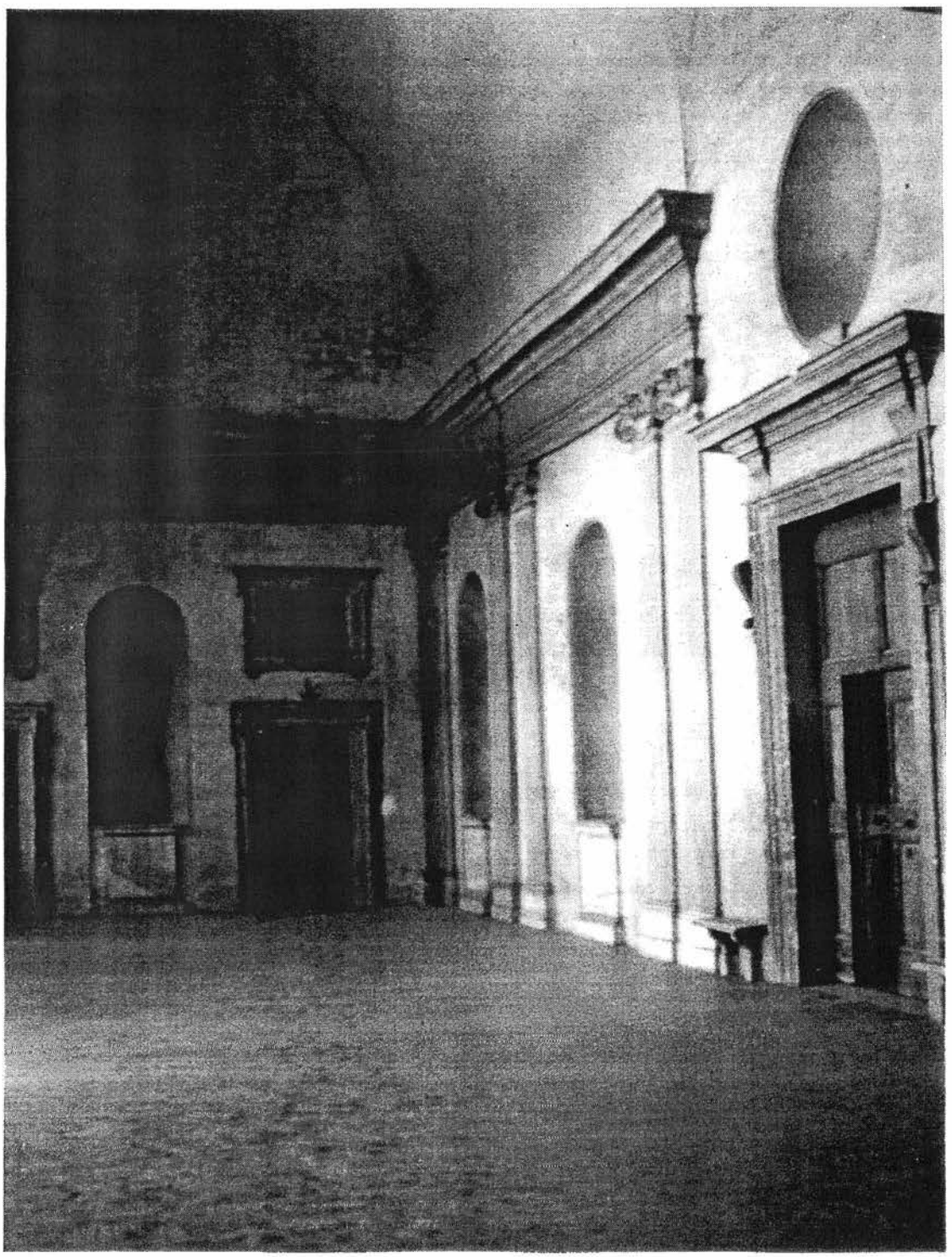


Fig. 41. Loggia, Villa Medici, Rome.

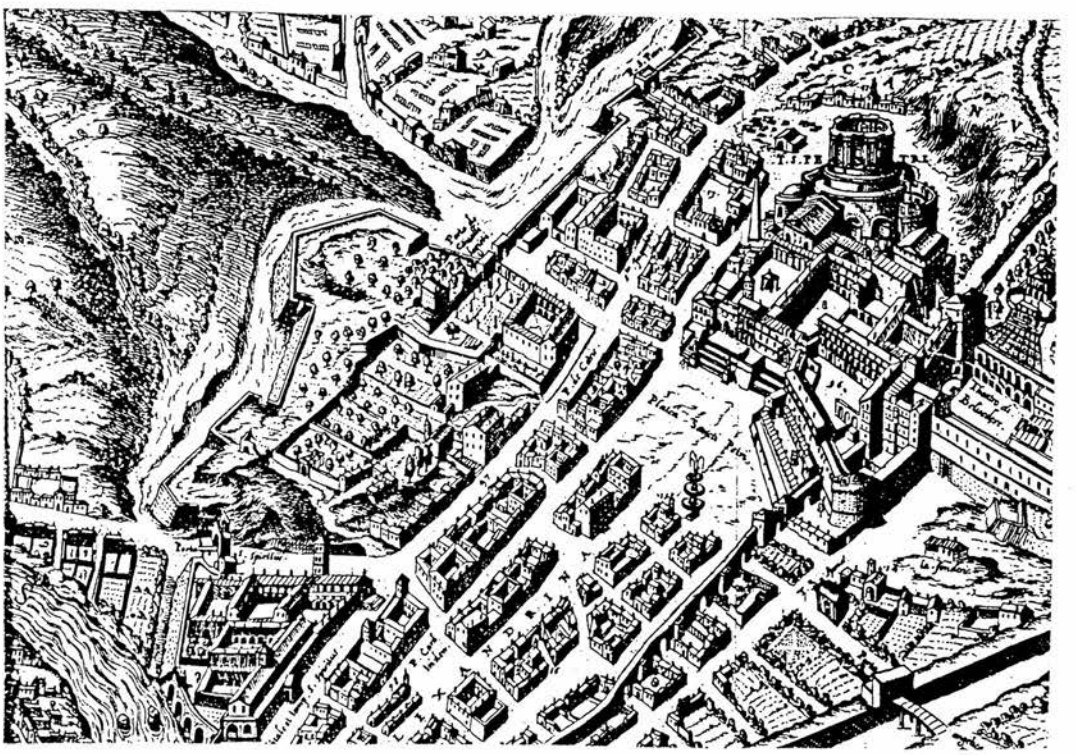


Fig. 42. Étienne Dupérac, Vigna Cesi, 1577, London, British Museum.

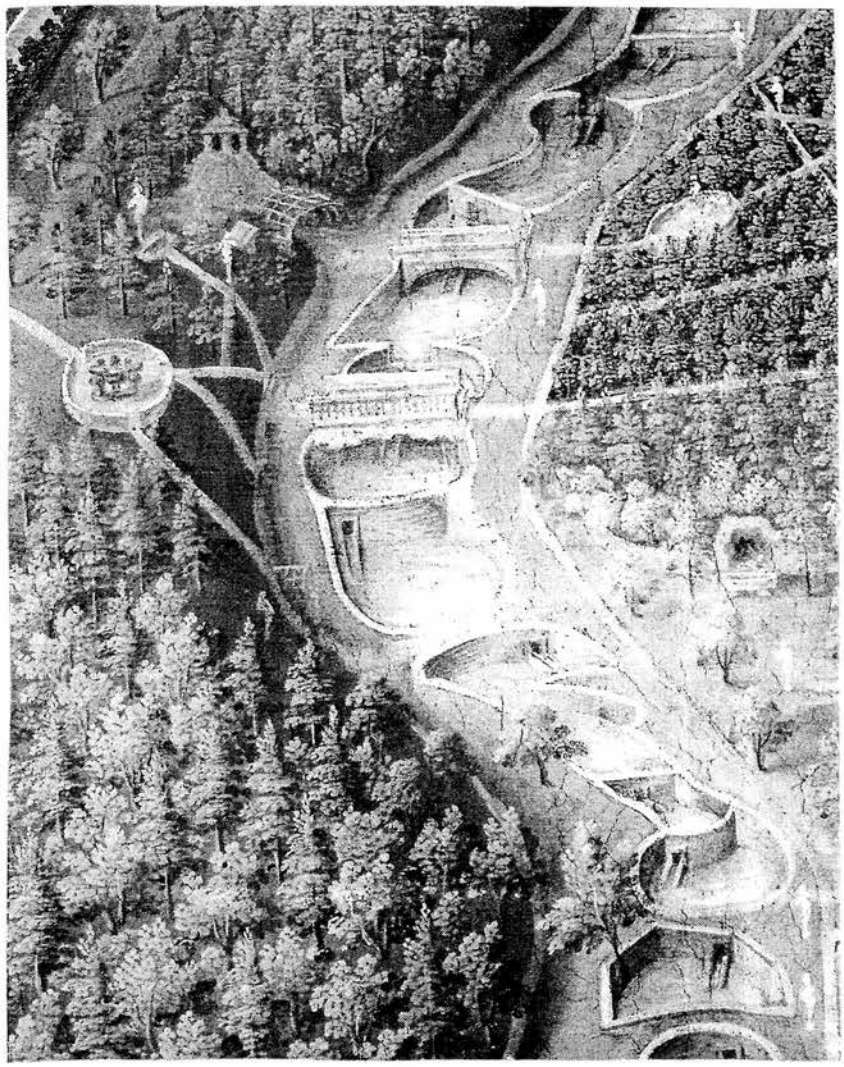


Fig. 43. Guisto Utens, Pratolino, 1599, Florence, Museo di Firenze com' era, Florence.

Fig. 44. Vincenzo Cartari, Representations of Mercury, from *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi*, Venice, 1556.

Fig. 45. Vincenzo Cartari, Representations of Mercury, from *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi*, Venice, 1556.

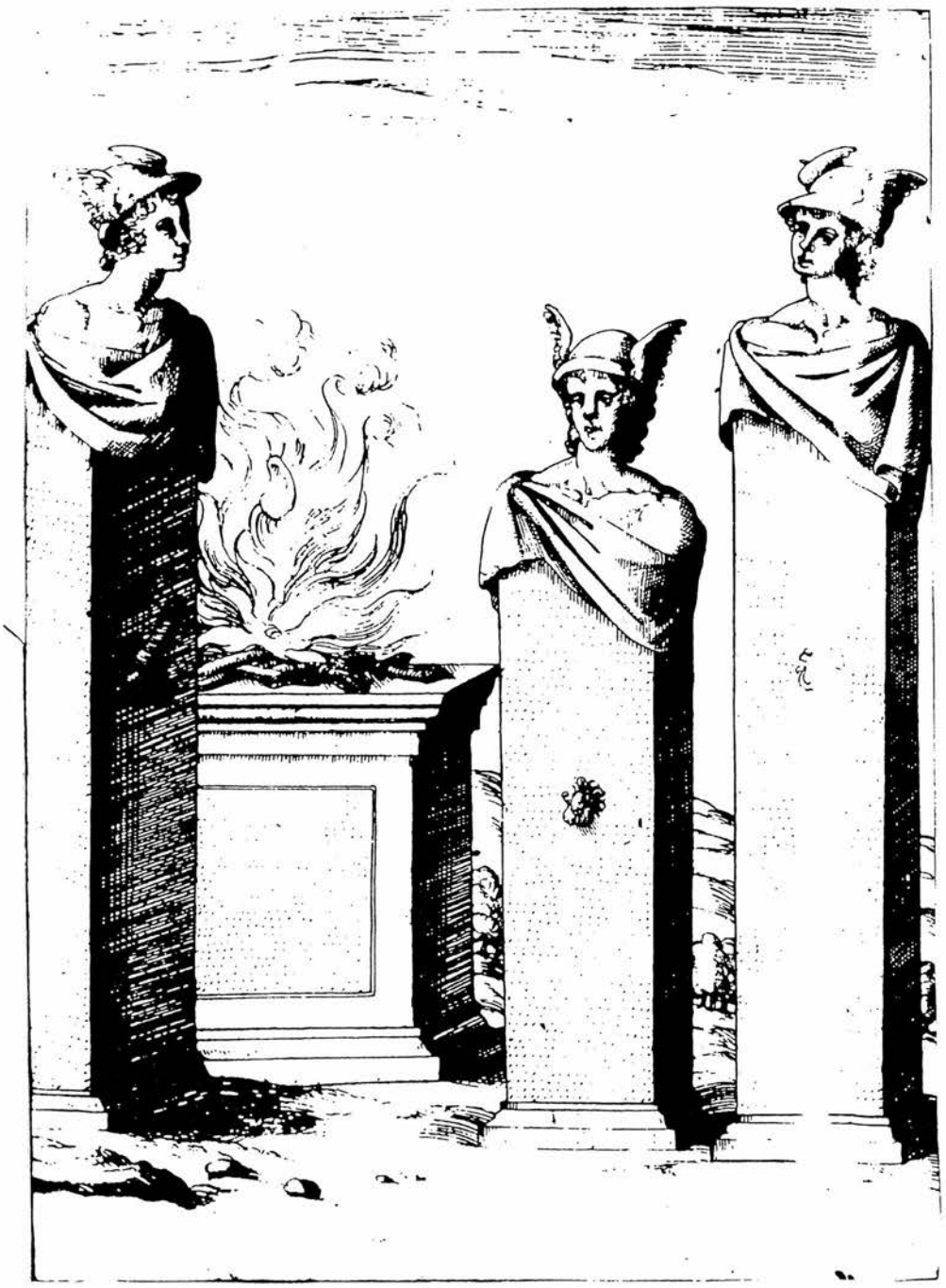


Fig. 46. Vincenzo Cartari, Representations of Mercury, from *Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi*, Venice, 1556.

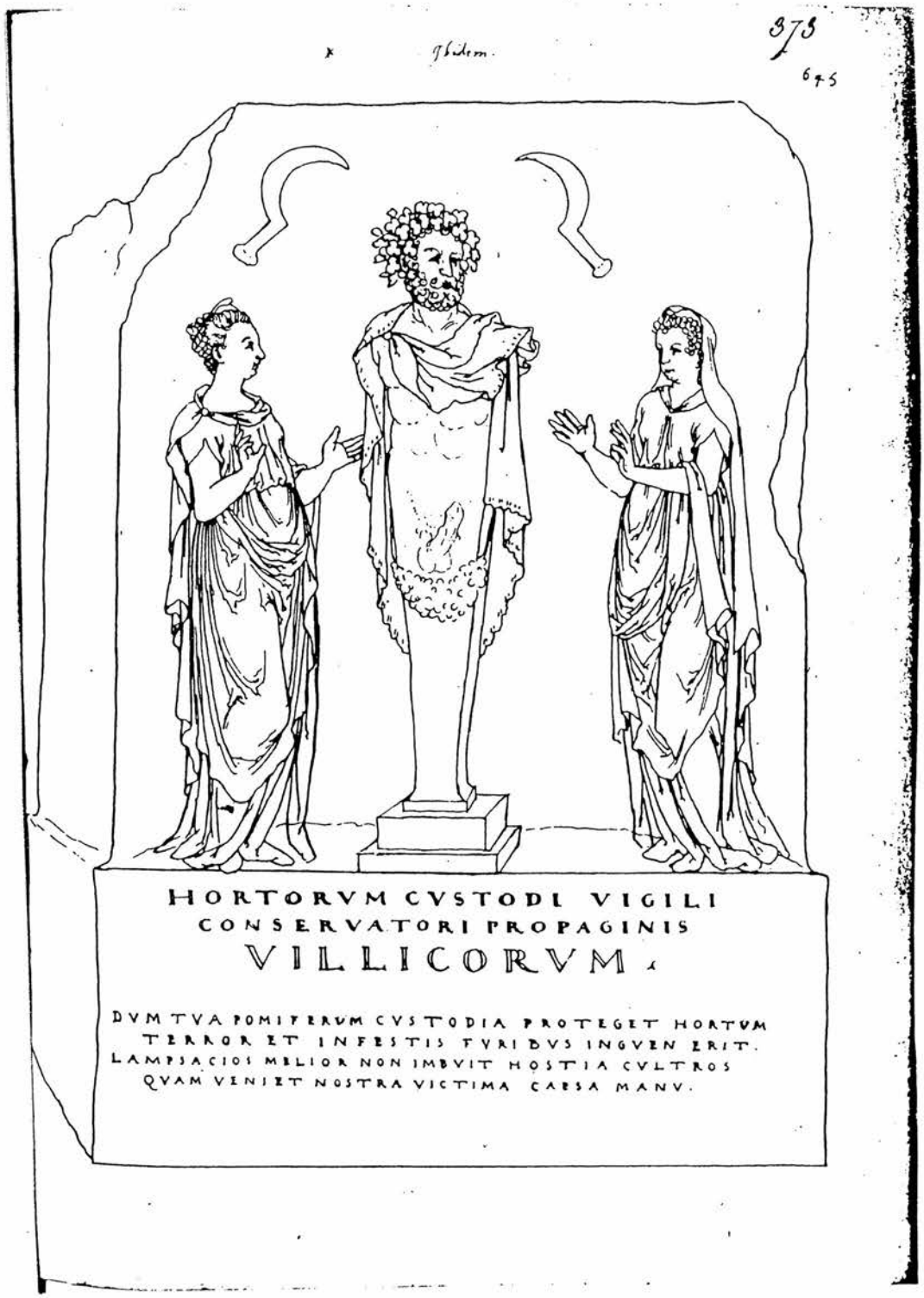


Fig. 47. Jean Jacques Boissard, Drawing of Votive Relief, 1571, from Ms. 12.509, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

Fig. 48. Jean Jacques Boissard, Drawing of Votive Relief, 1571, from Ms. 12.509, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

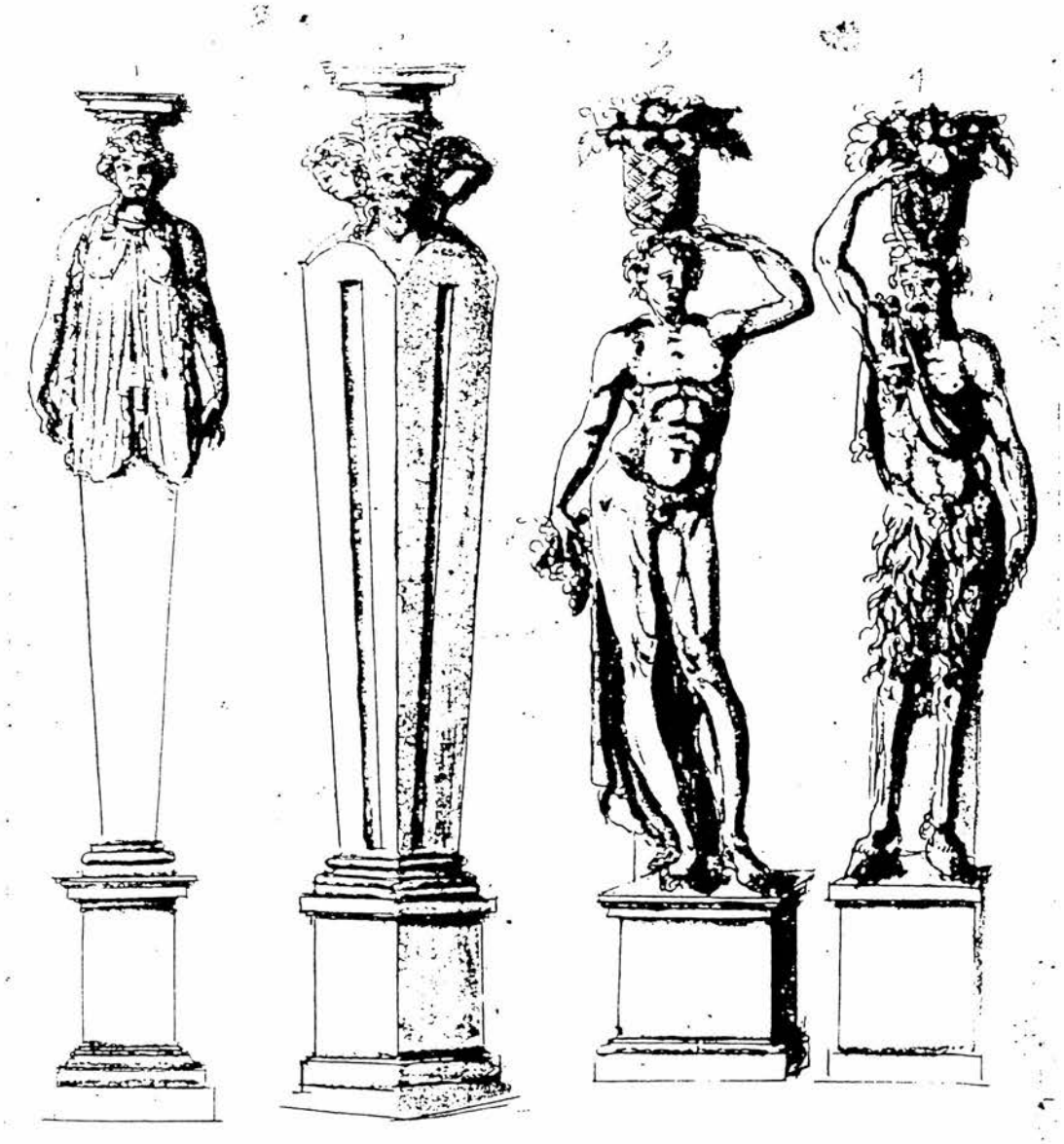


Fig. 49. Giovanbattista Montano, Herm Illustrations, from Sketchbook 333, vol. 1, London, Sir John Soane's Museum.

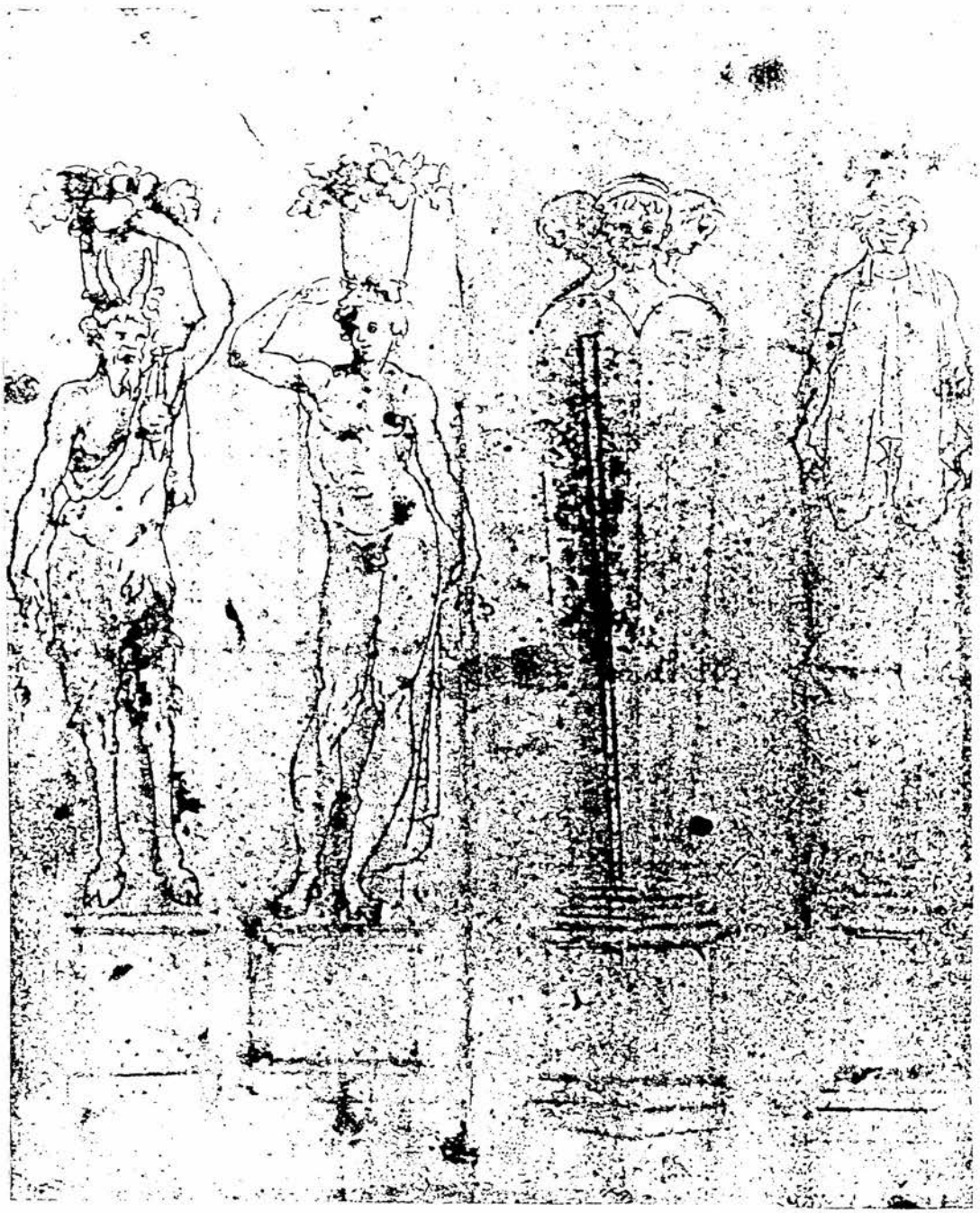


Fig. 50. Giovanbattista Montano, Herm Illustrations, from Sketchbook 333, vol. 1, London, Sir John Soane's Museum.

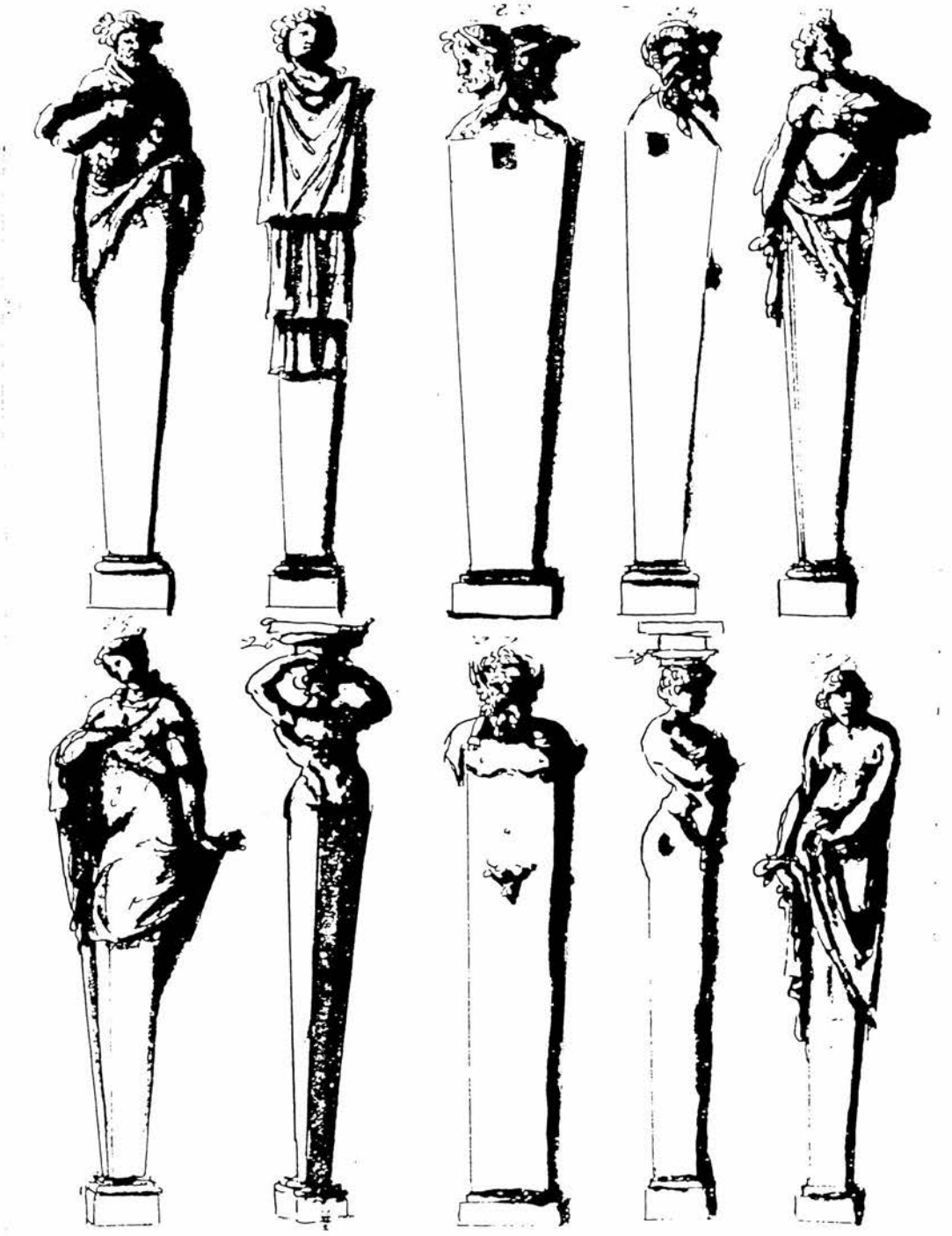


Fig. 51. Giovanbattista Montano, Herm Illustrations, from Sketchbook 333, vol. 1, London, Sir John Soane's Museum.

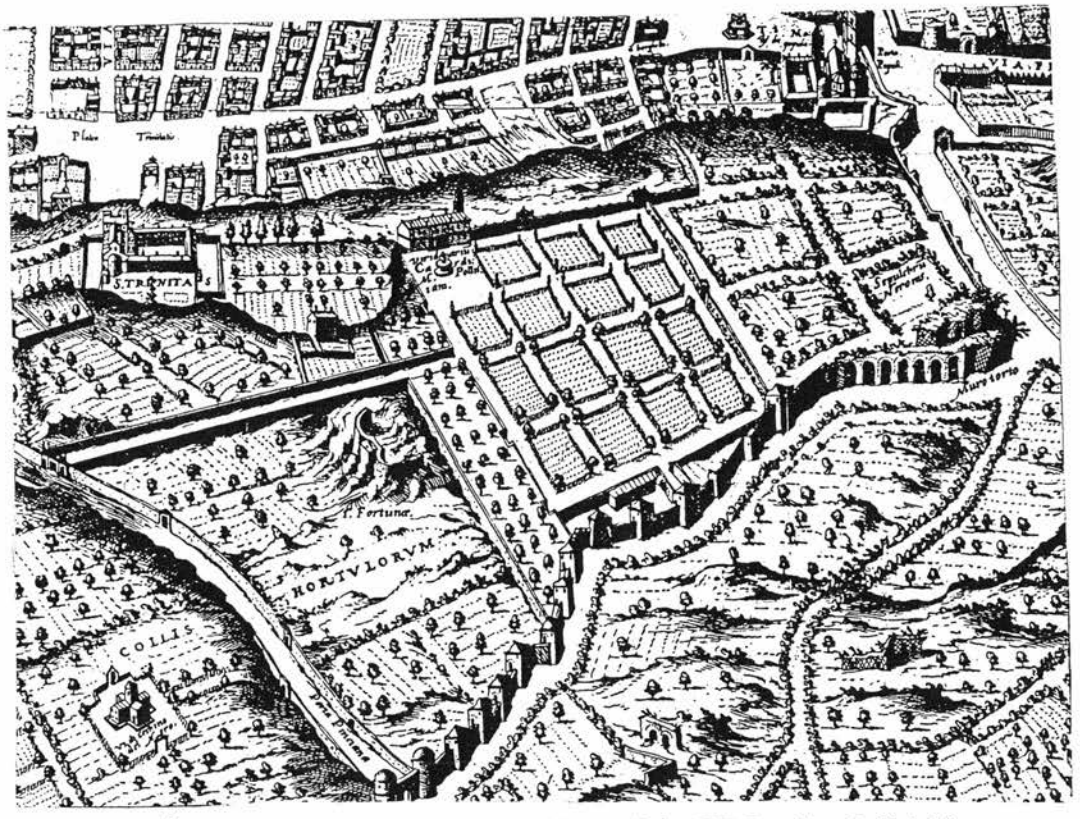


Fig. 52. Étienne Dupérac, Map of Rome, Villa Medici, 1577, London, British Museum.

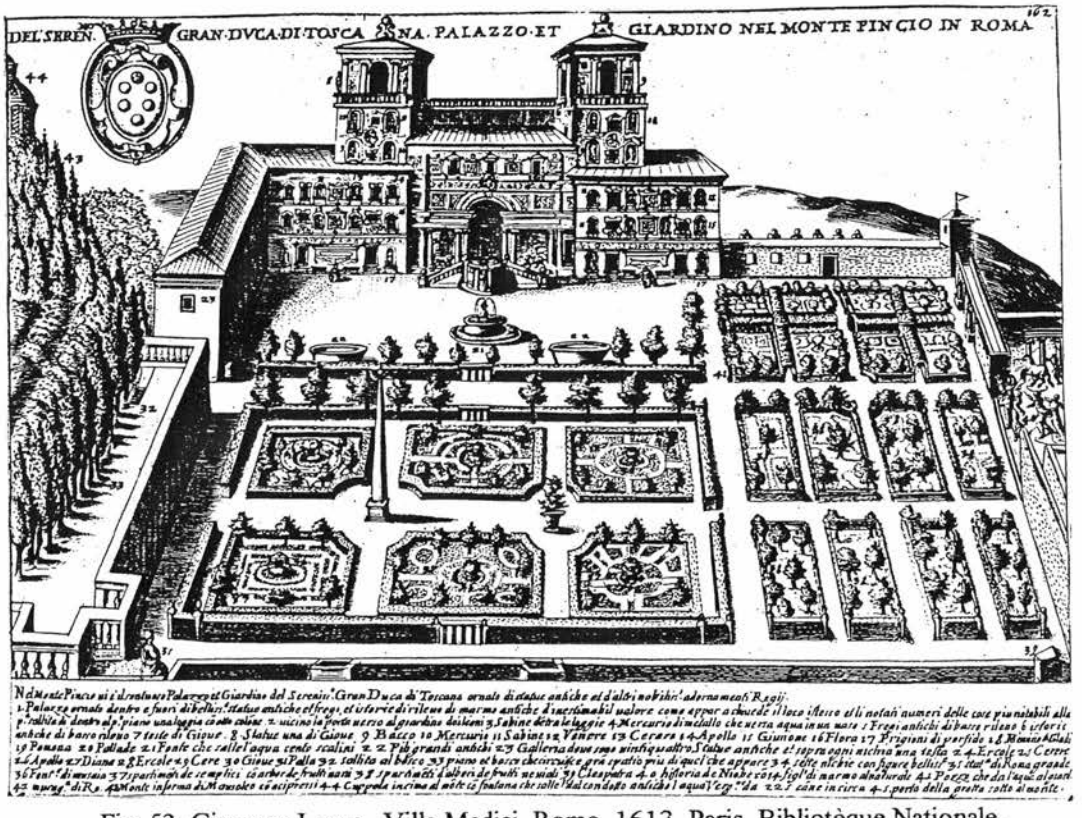


Fig. 53. Giacomo Lauro, Villa Medici, Rome, 1613, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

Fig. 54. Achillis Statius, Herm of Miltiades, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

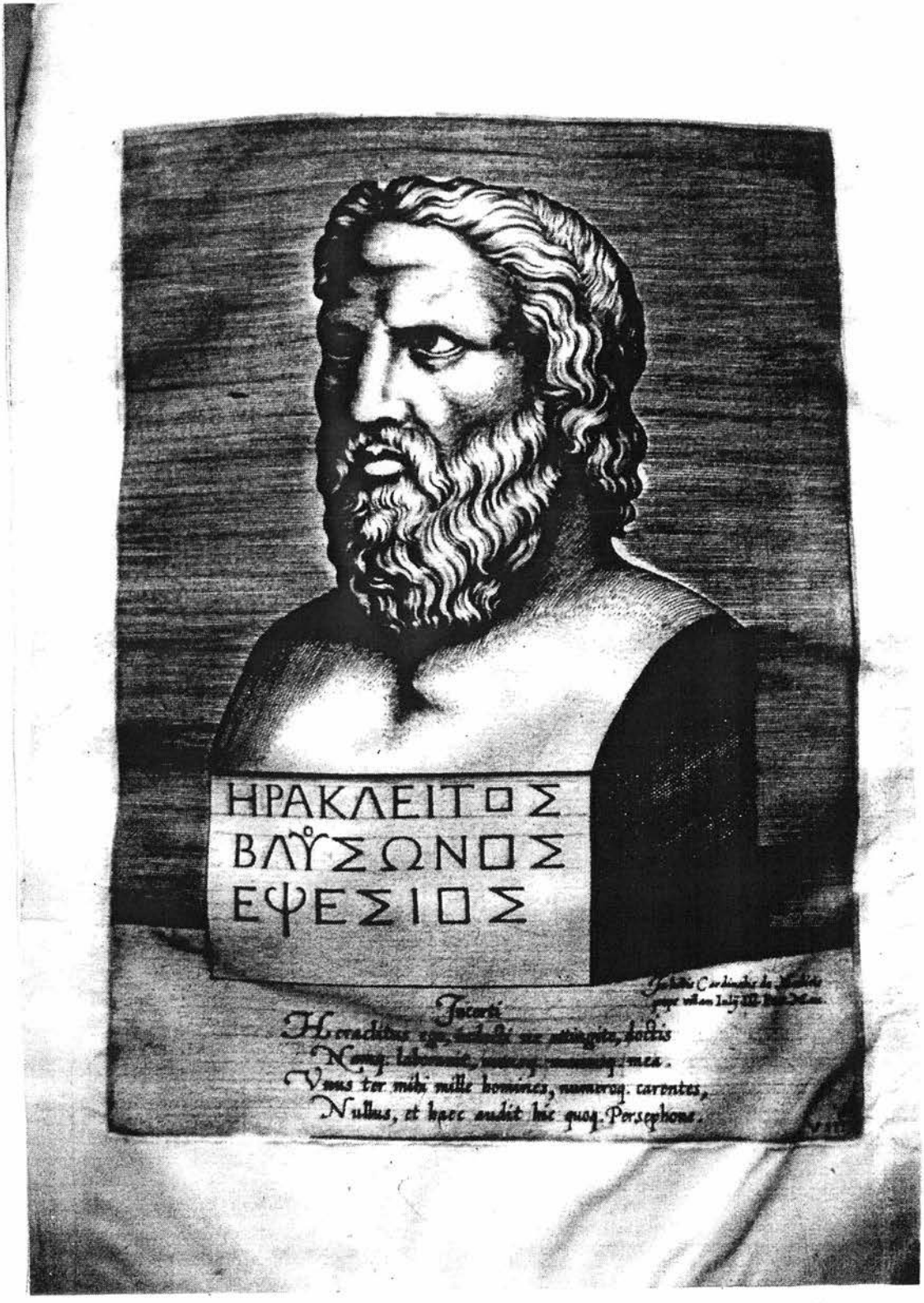


Fig. 55. Achillis Statius, Herm of Herakleitos, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

Fig. 56. Achillis Statius, Herm of Aristophanes, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

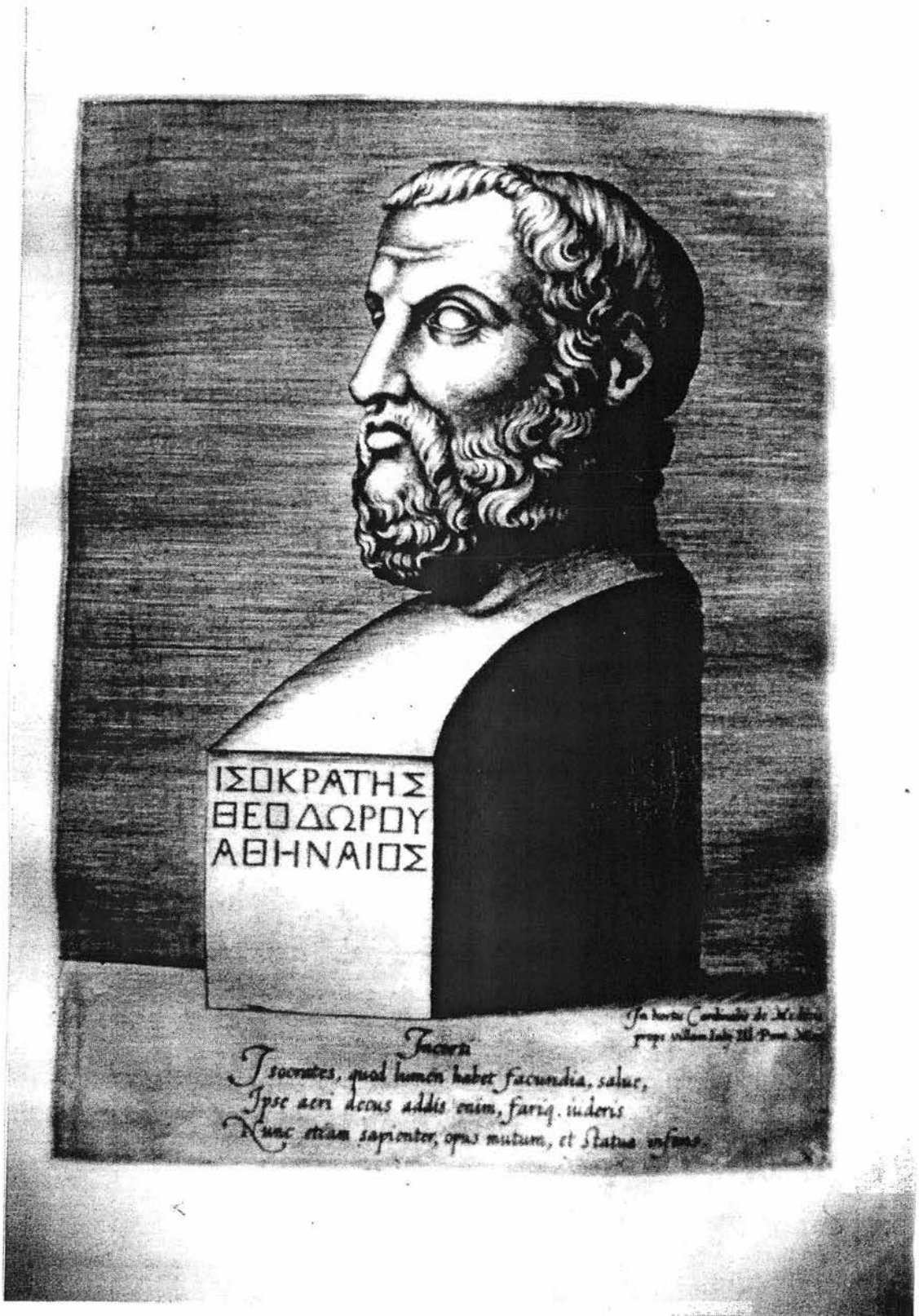


Fig. 57. Achillis Statius, Herm of Isocrates, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

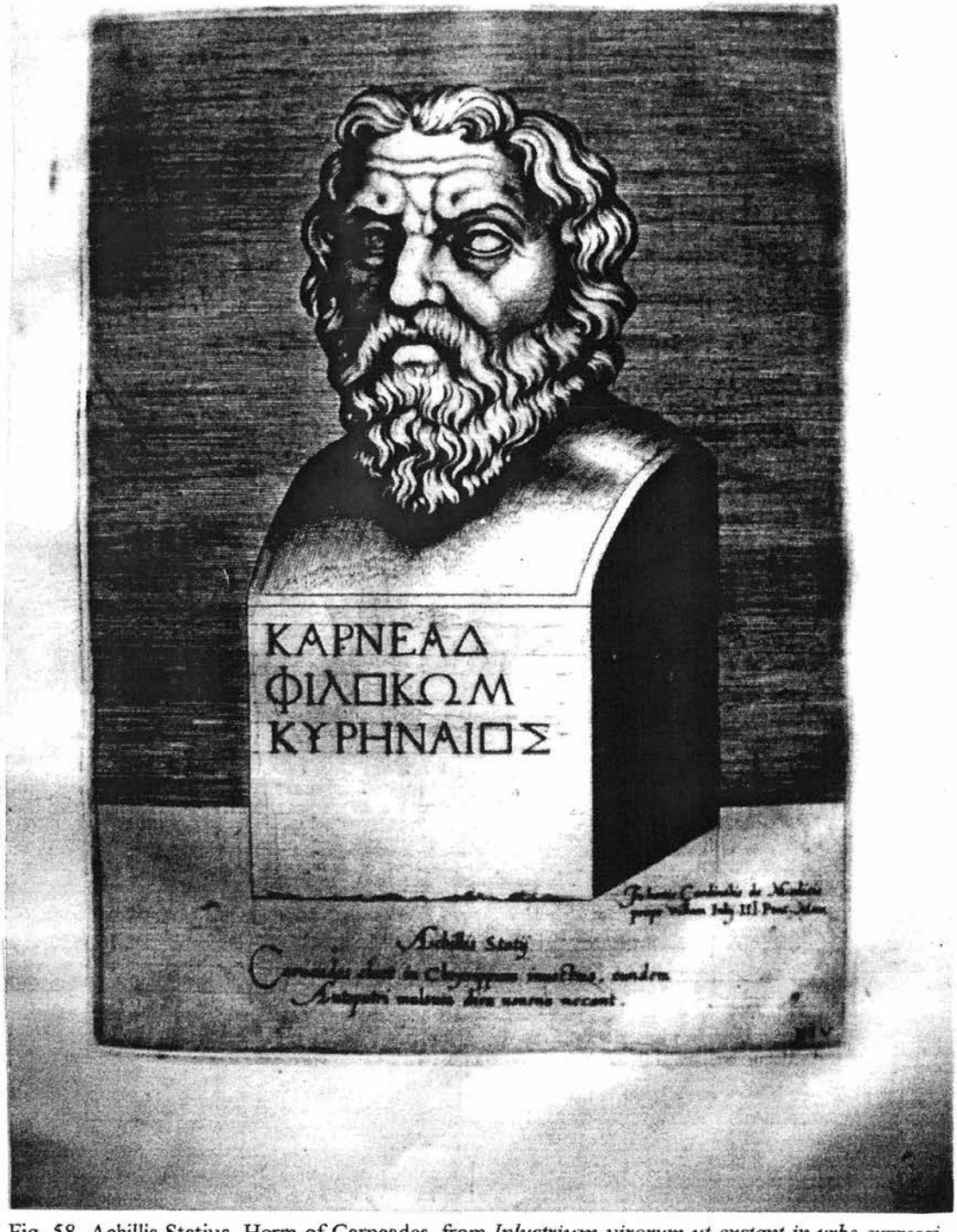


Fig. 58. Achillis Statius, Herm of Carneades, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

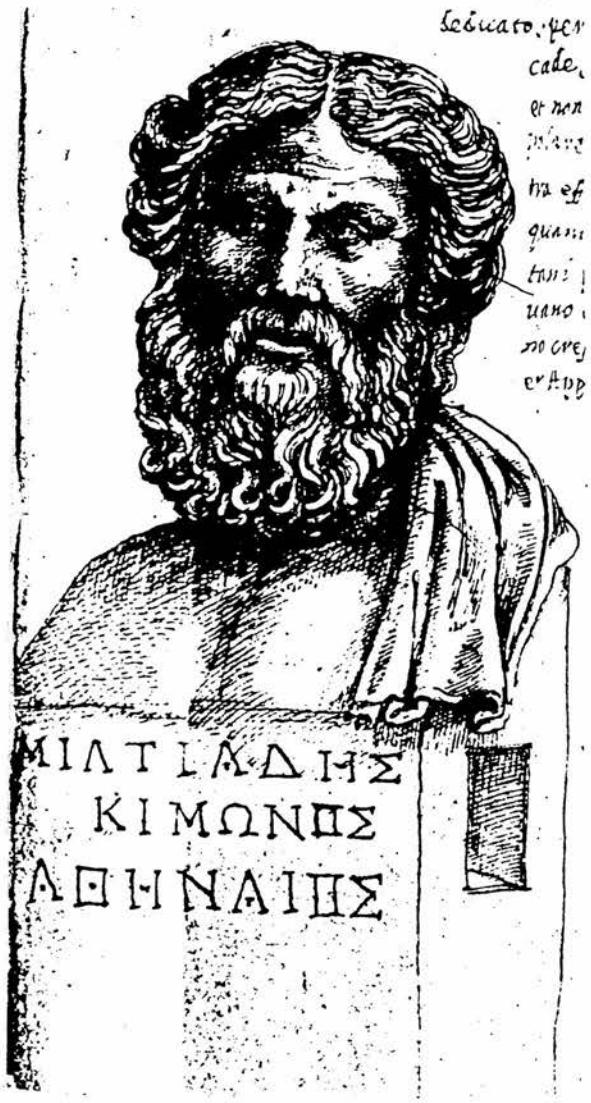


Fig. 59. Pirro Ligorio, Herm of Miltiades, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

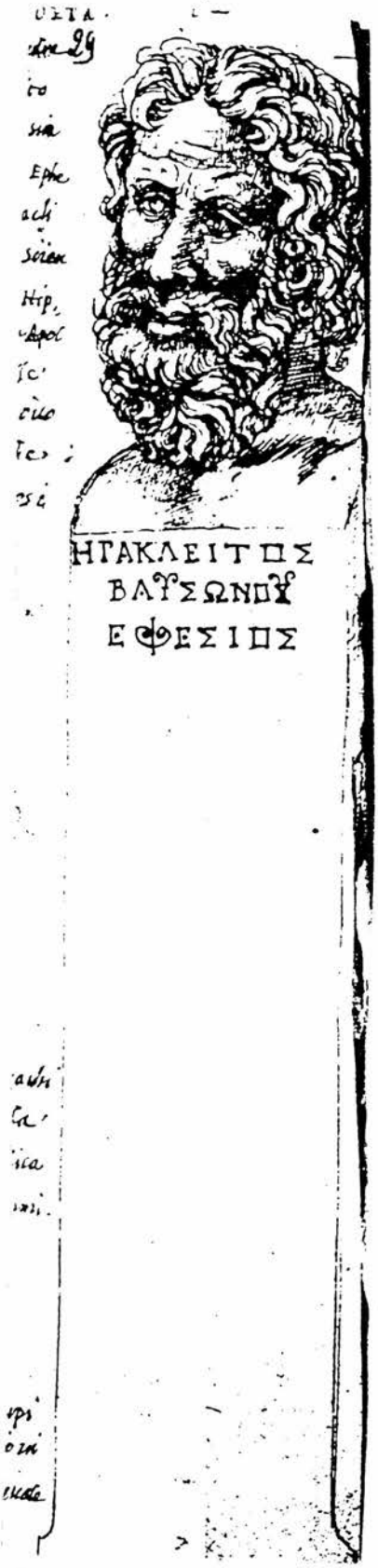


Fig. 60. Pirro Ligorio, Herm of Herakleitos, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

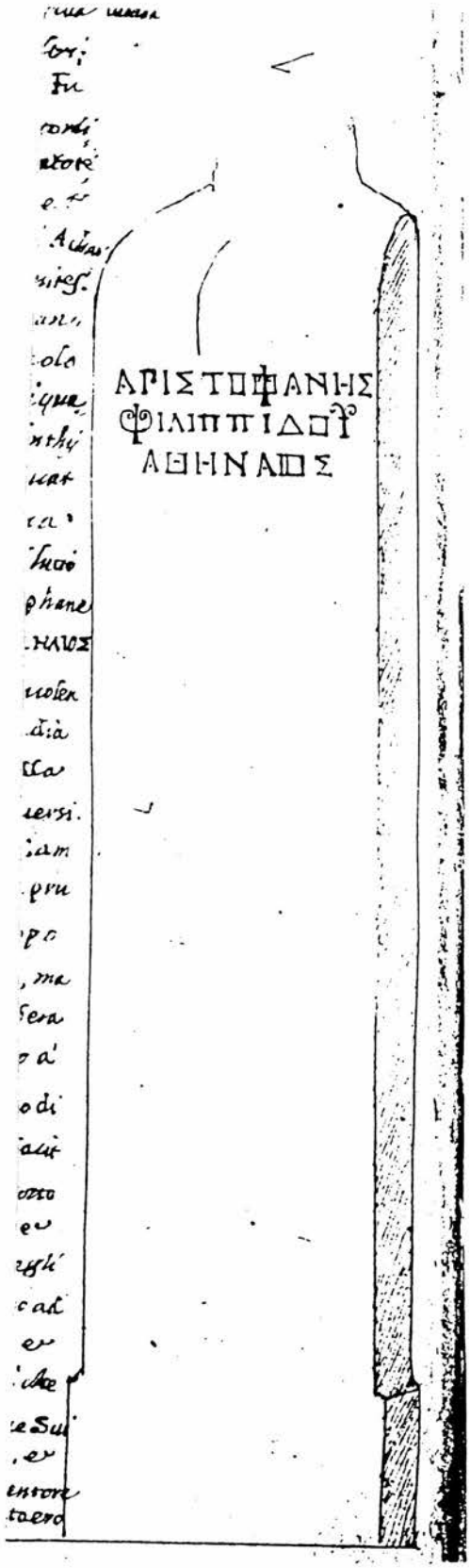


Fig. 61. Pirro Ligorio, Herm of Aristophanes, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

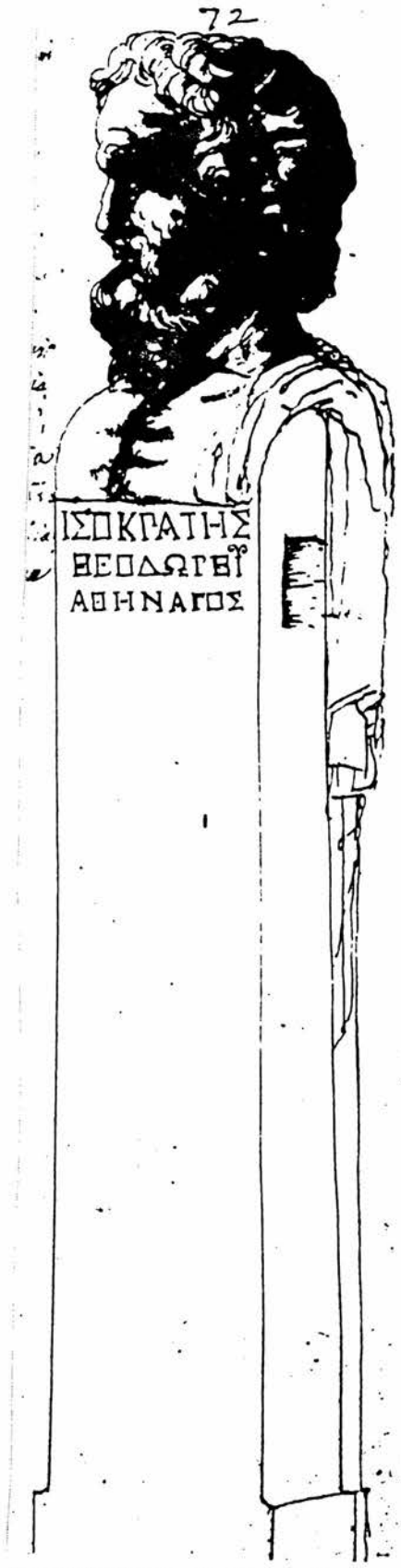


Fig. 62. Pirro Ligorio, Herm of Isocrates, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 63. Pirro Ligorio, Herm of Carneades, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

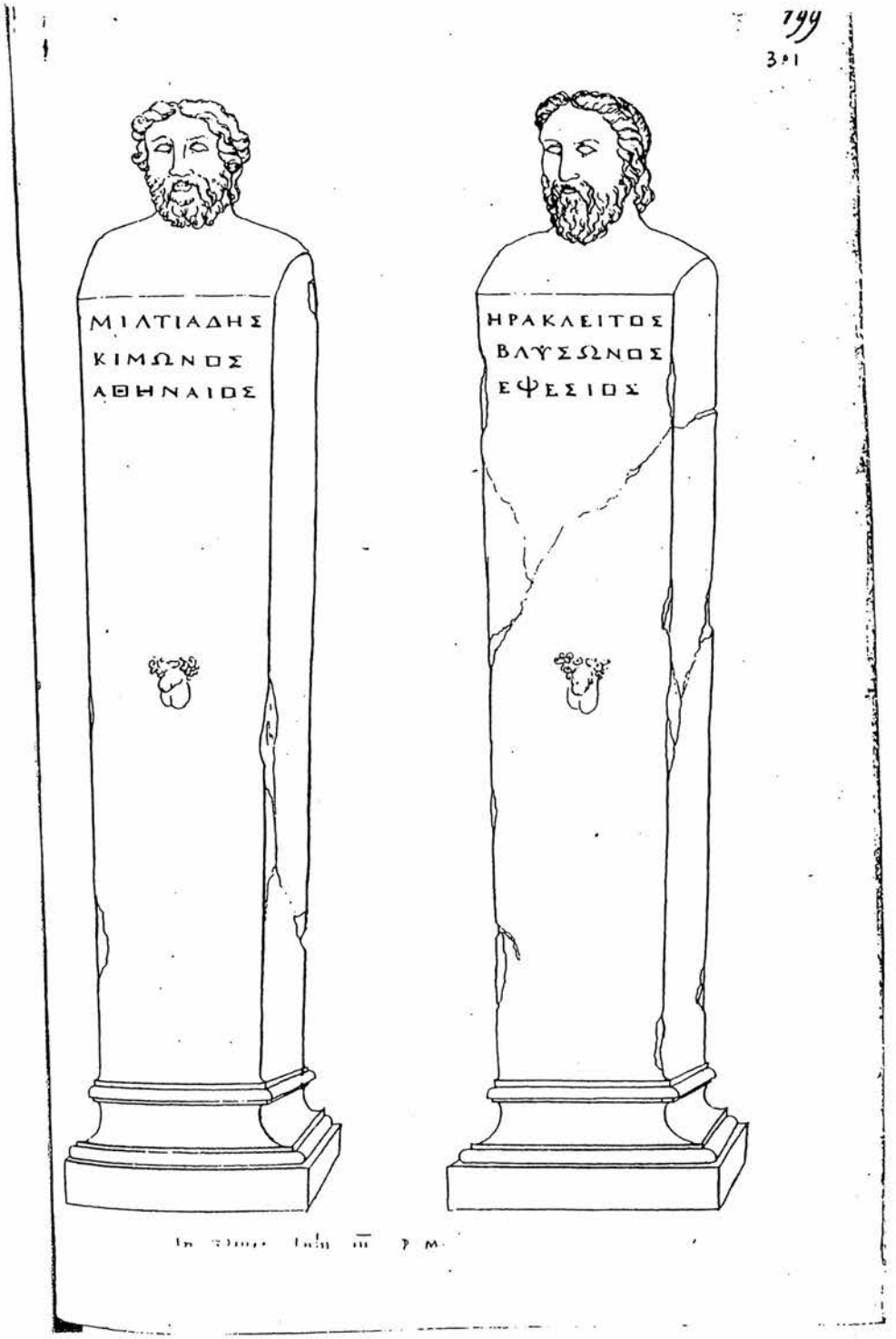


Fig. 64. Jean Jacques Boissard, Herms of Miltiades and Herakleitos, from Ms. 12.509, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

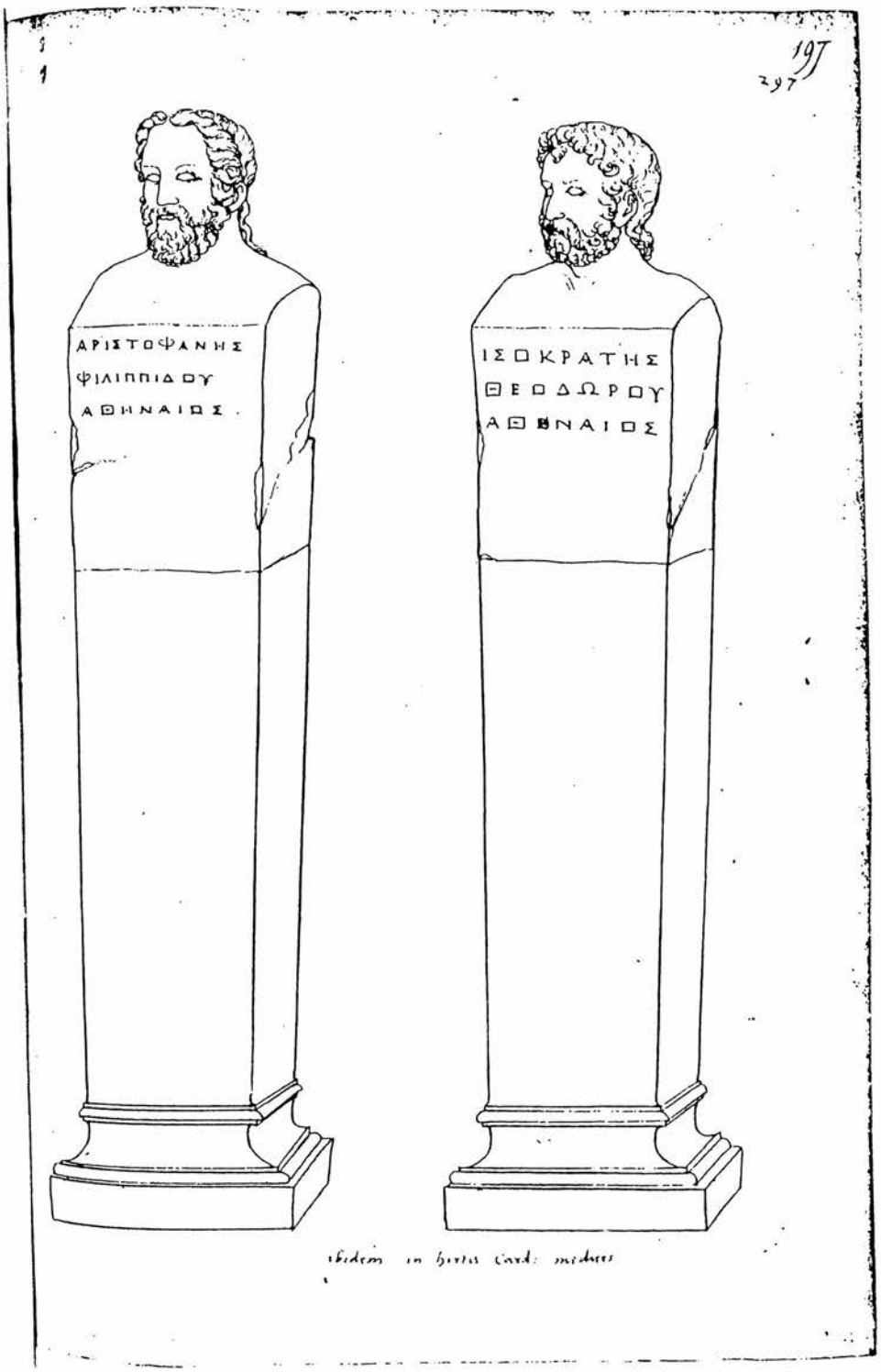


Fig. 65. Jean Jacques Boissard, Herms of Aristophanes and Isocrates, from Ms. 12.509, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

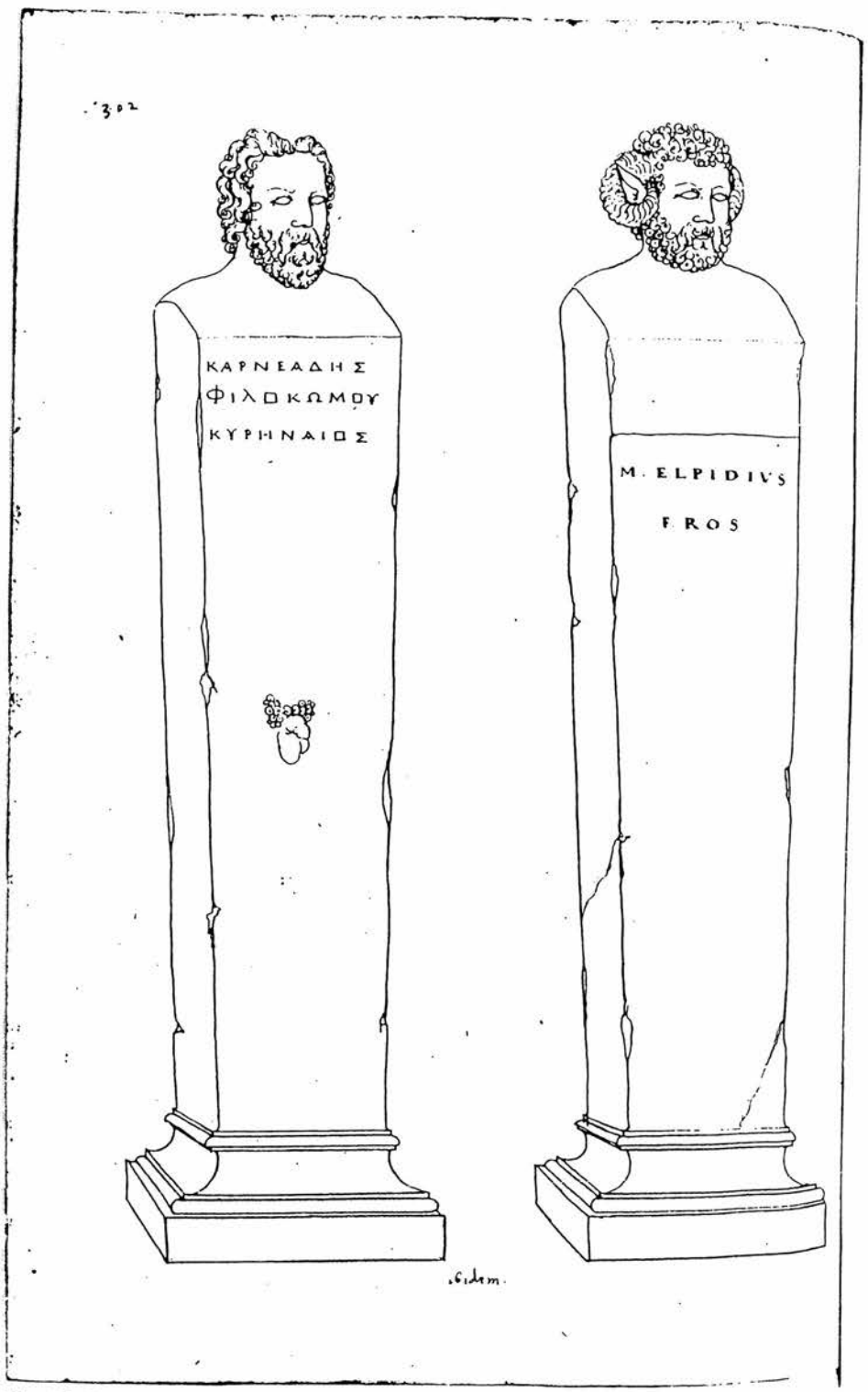


Fig. 66. Jean Jacques Boissard, Herms of Carneades and M. Elpidius Eros, from Ms. 12.509, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

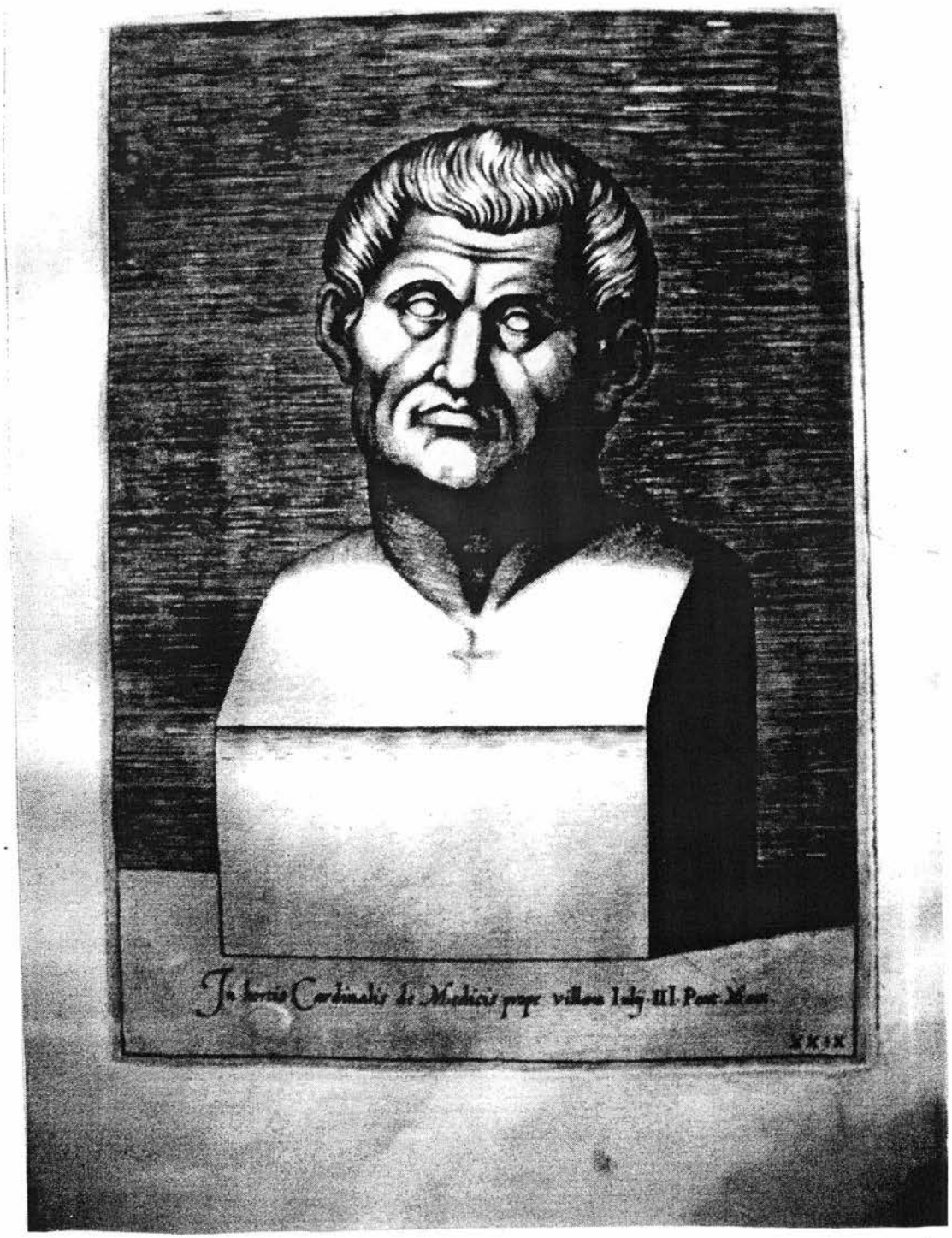


Fig. 67. Achillis Statius, Anonymous Medici Herm, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

Fig. 68. Achillis Statius, Anonymous Medici Herm, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

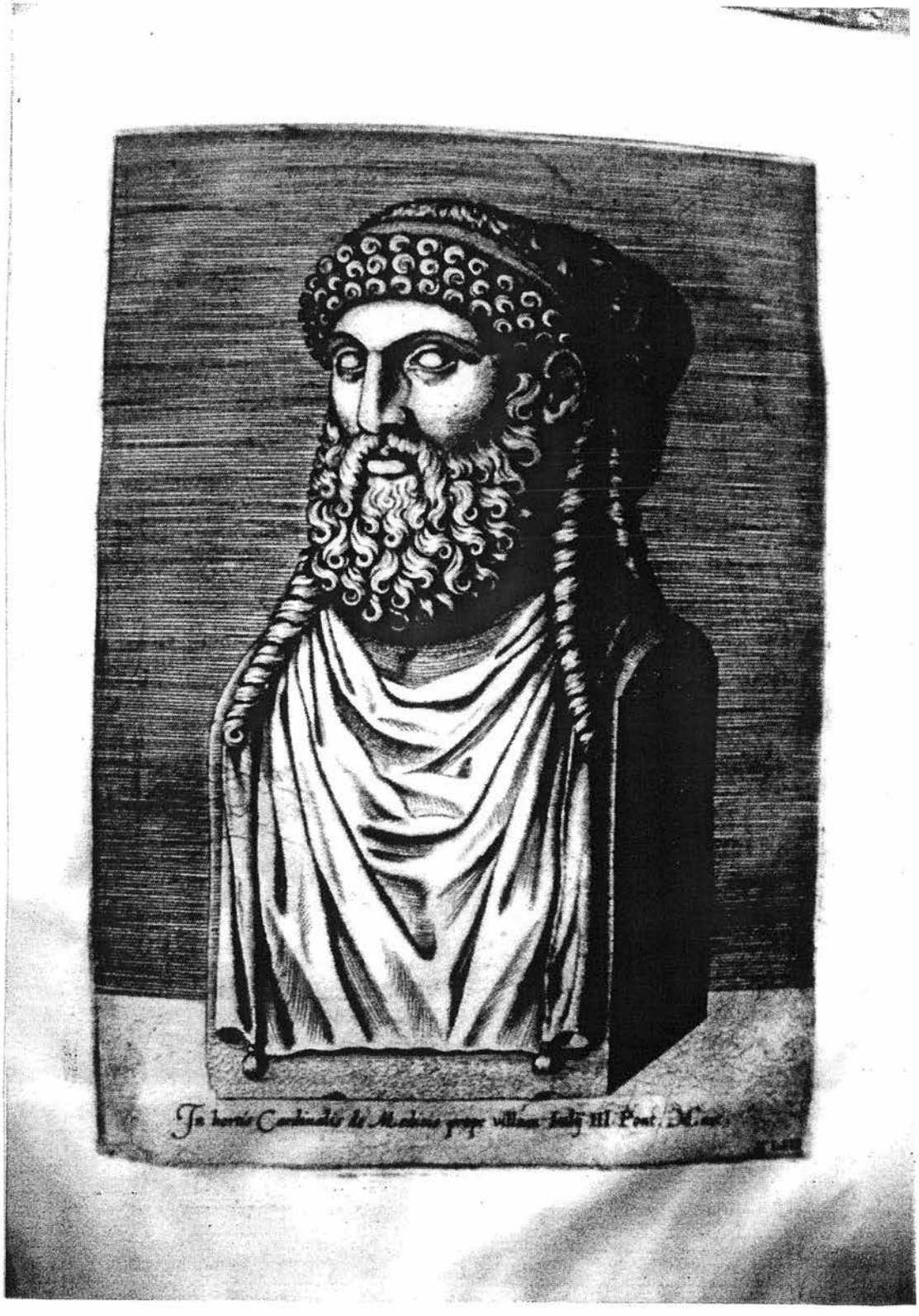


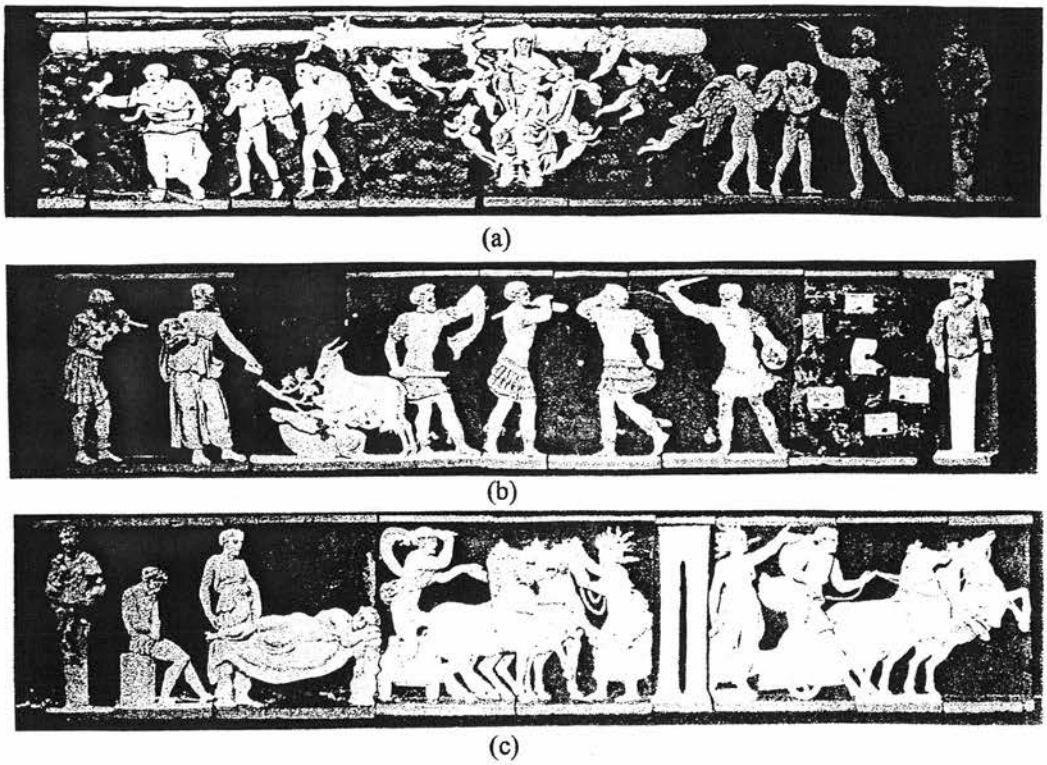
Fig. 69. Achillis Statius, Anonymous Medici Double Herm, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

Fig. 70. Achillis Statius, Anonymous Medici Double Herm, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

Fig. 71. Achillis Statius, Anonymous Medici Double Herm, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

Fig. 72. Achillis Statius, Anonymous Medici Double Herm, from *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in urbe expressi vultus*, Rome, 1569.

Fig. 73. Baldassare Peruzzi, Frieze, Salone delle Prospettive, Villa Farnesina, Rome.



(a)

(b)

(c)

Fig. 74 (a, b, c). Herms form the Portico Frieze, Villa Medici, Poggio a Caiano.

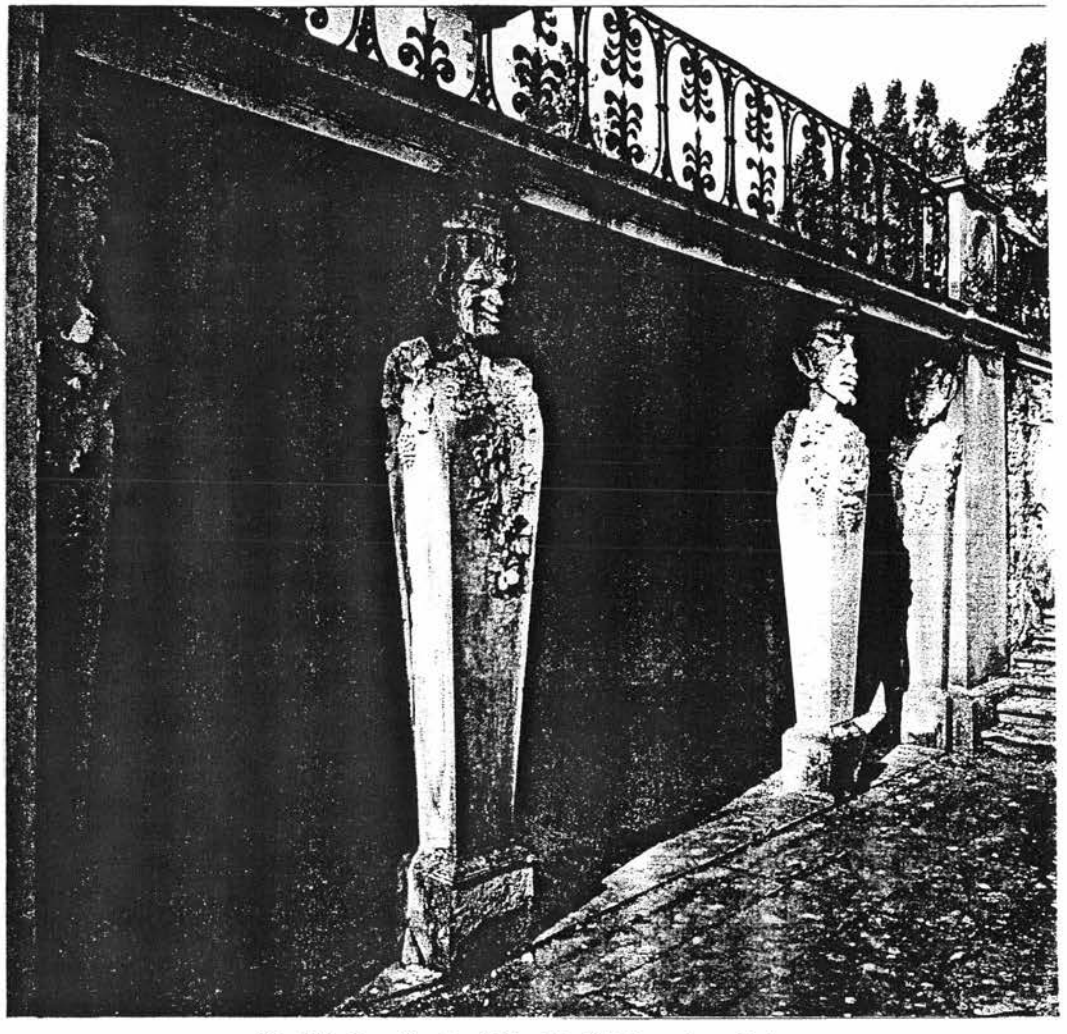


Fig. 75. Pan Grotto, Villa Medici, Poggio a Caiano.

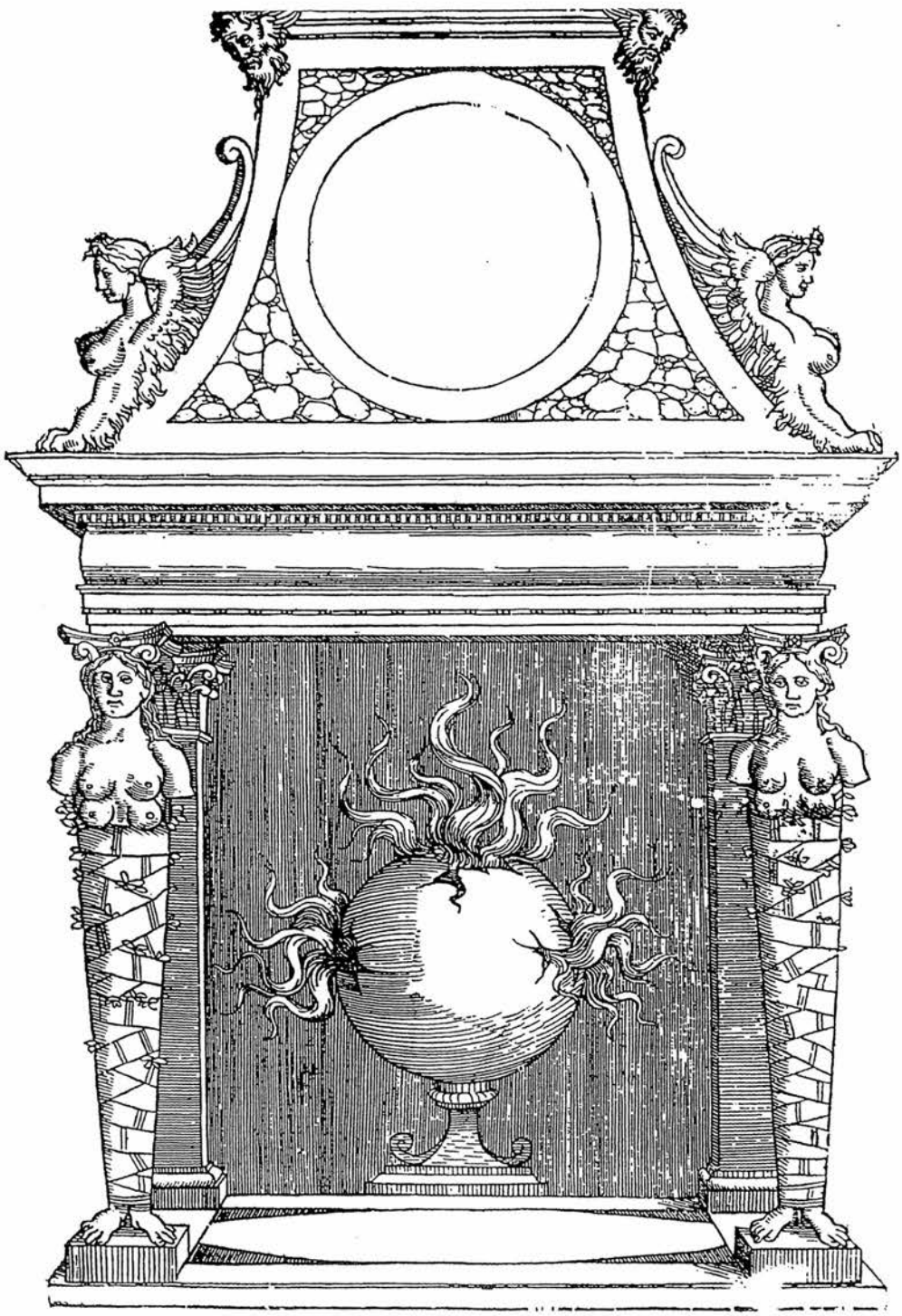


Fig. 76. Sebastiano Serlio, Design for a Chimney, c. 1537.

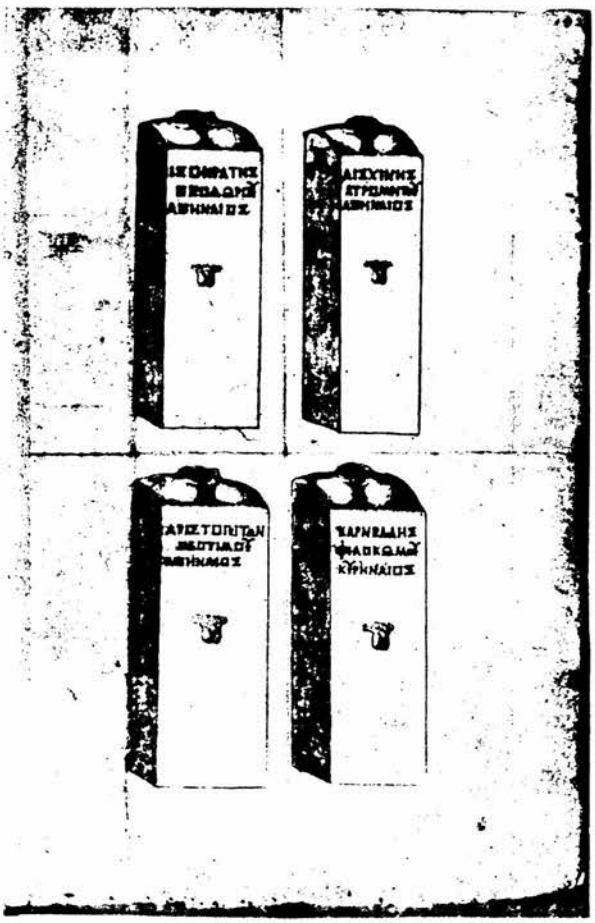


Fig. 77. Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Herms from the Villa Giulia, from Codex Pighianus, Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

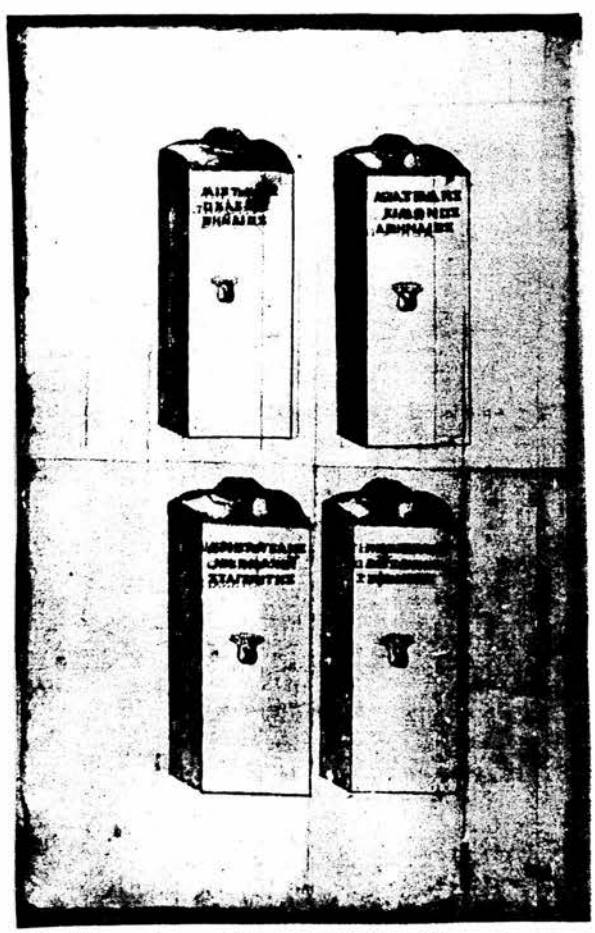


Fig. 78. Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Herms from the Villa Giulia, from Codex Pighianus, Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

Fig. 79. Stephanus Vinandus Pighius, Herms from the Villa Giulia, from Codex Pighianus, Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

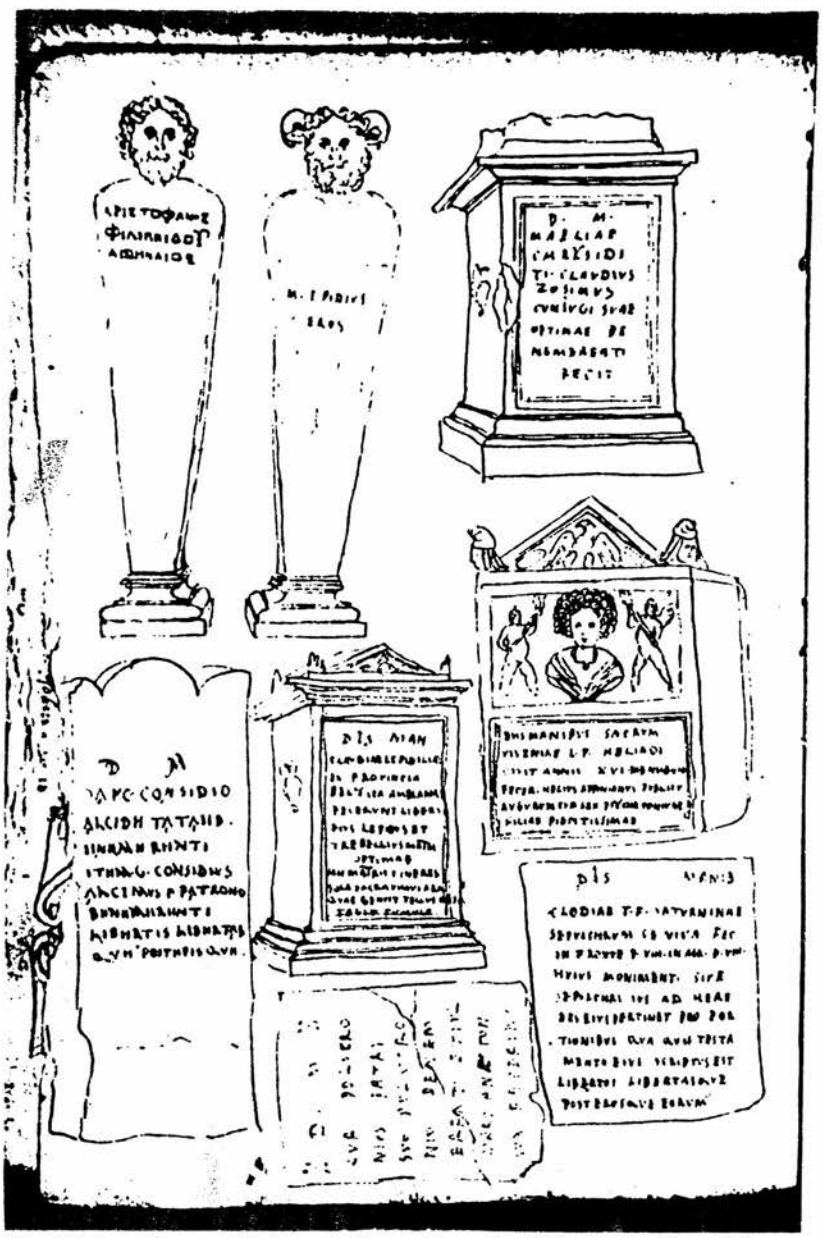


Fig. 80. Jean Jacques Boissard, Herms from the Villa Giulia, from Ms. 12.509, 1571, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

Fig. 81. Various Herm Portraits, Villa Medici, Rome. (Jupiter-Ammon type, third from right.)

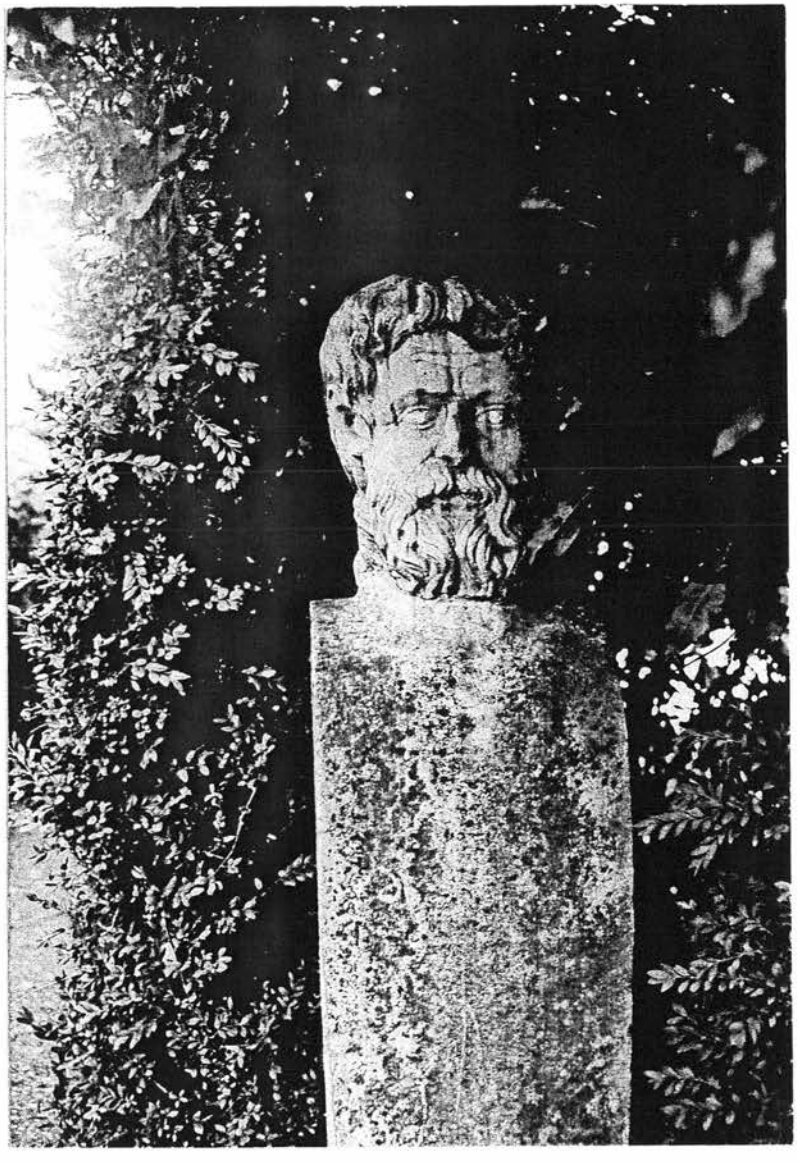


Fig. 82. Isocrates Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome..

Fig. 83. Double Male/Female Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

Fig. 84. Aschines Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

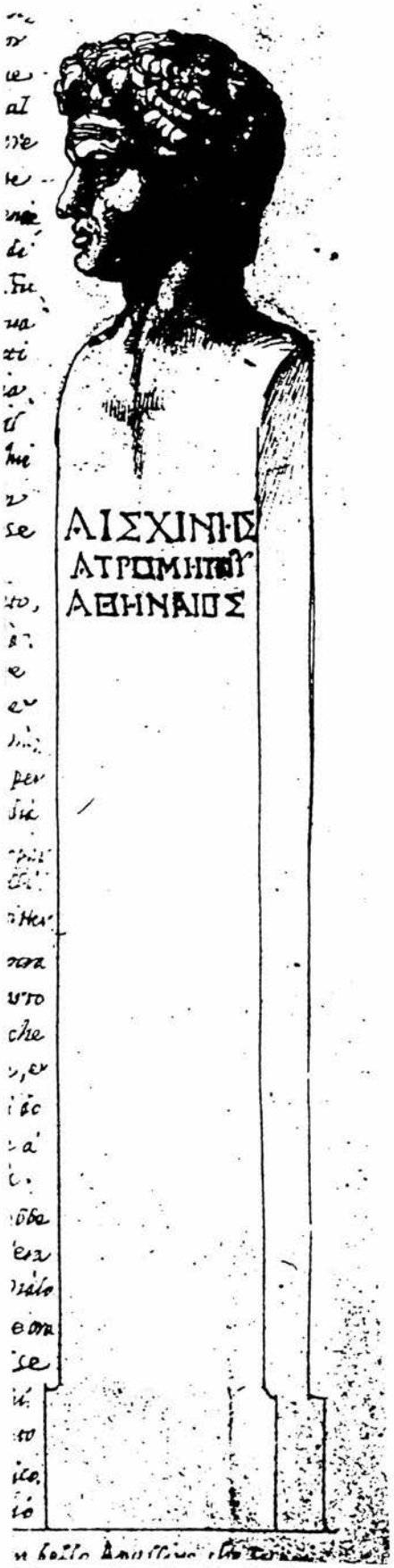


Fig. 85. Pirro Ligorio, Aschines Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 86. Horatio Flacco Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome..

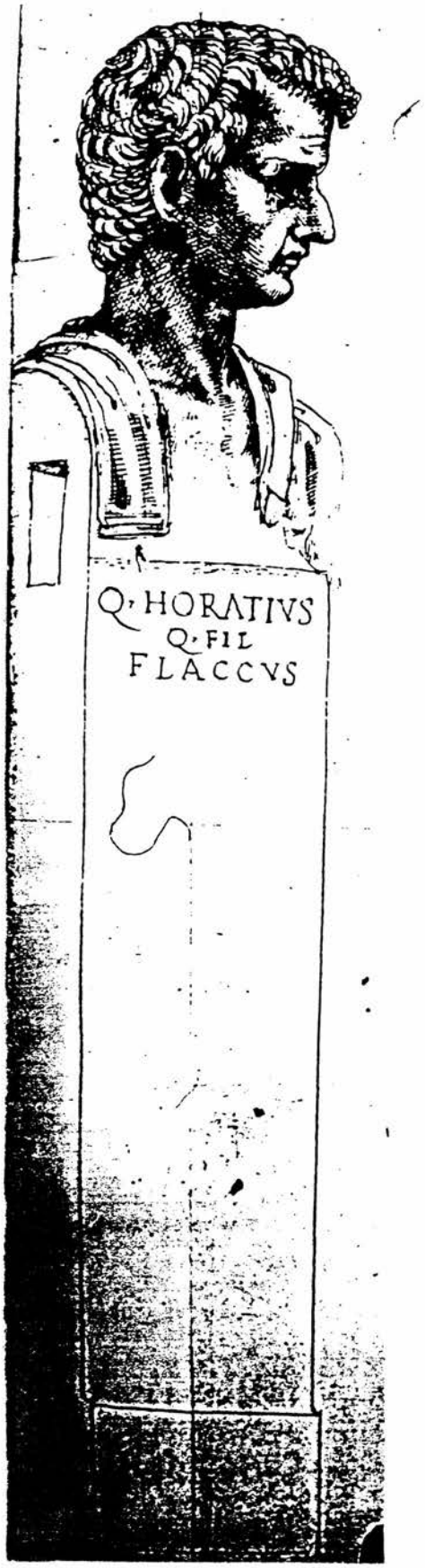


Fig. 87. Pirro Ligorio, Horatio Flacco Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

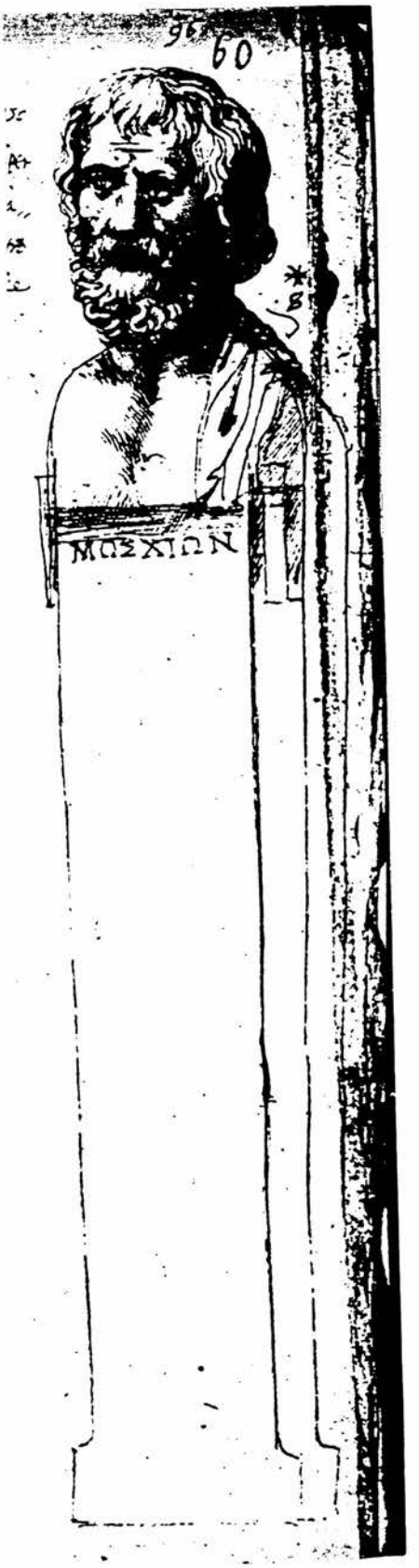


Fig. 88. Pirro Ligorio, Moschion Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 89. Various Herm Portraits, Villa Medici, Rome. (Double Male/Female Herm Portrait, second from right; Moschion type, third from right.)

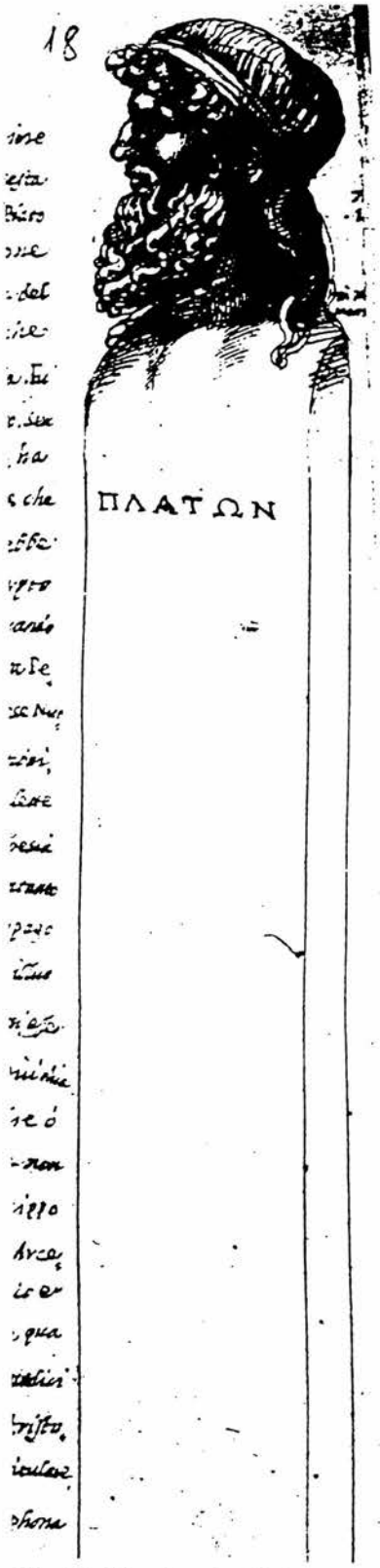


Fig. 90. Pirro Logrio, Plato, the son of Aristone Aristotole Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 91. Plato Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

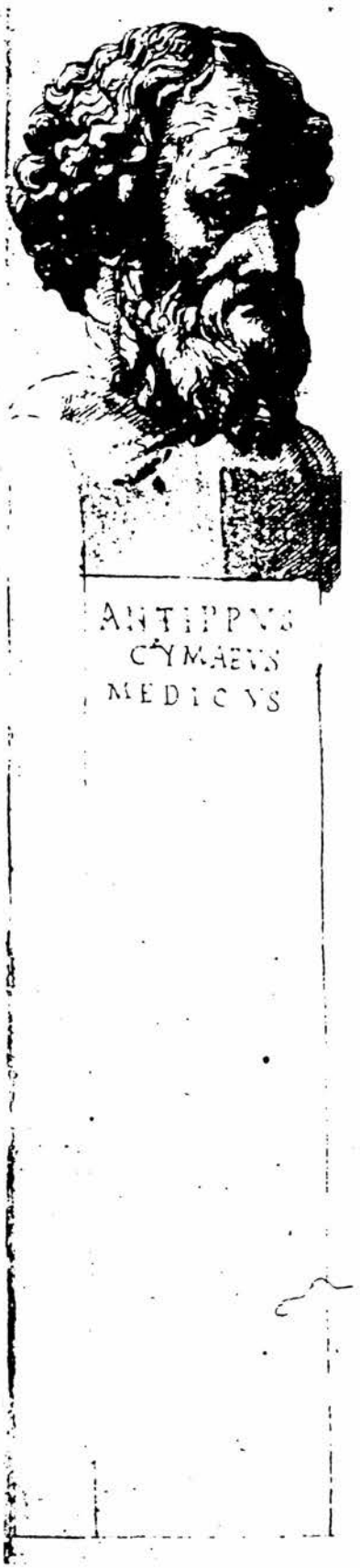


Fig. 92. Pirro Ligorio, Antipas Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

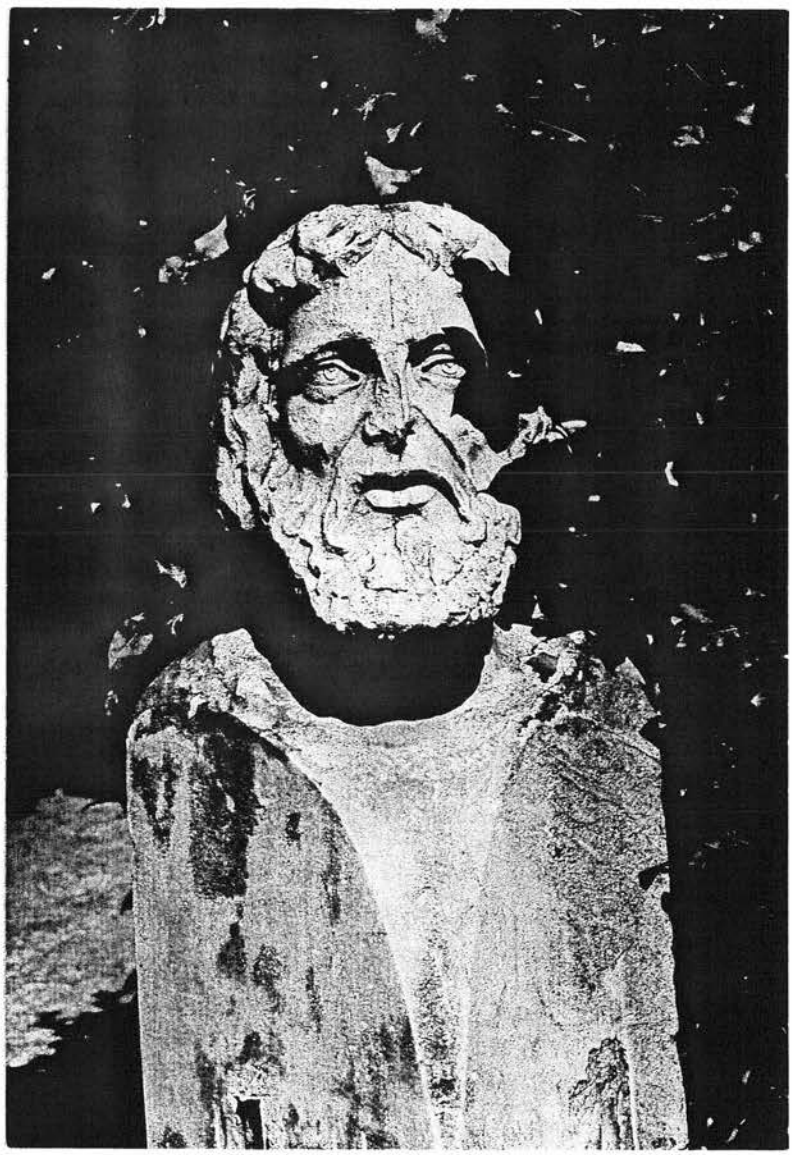


Fig. 93. Antipas Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

Fig. 94. Pirro Ligorio, Scipio Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin,Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 95. Scipio Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

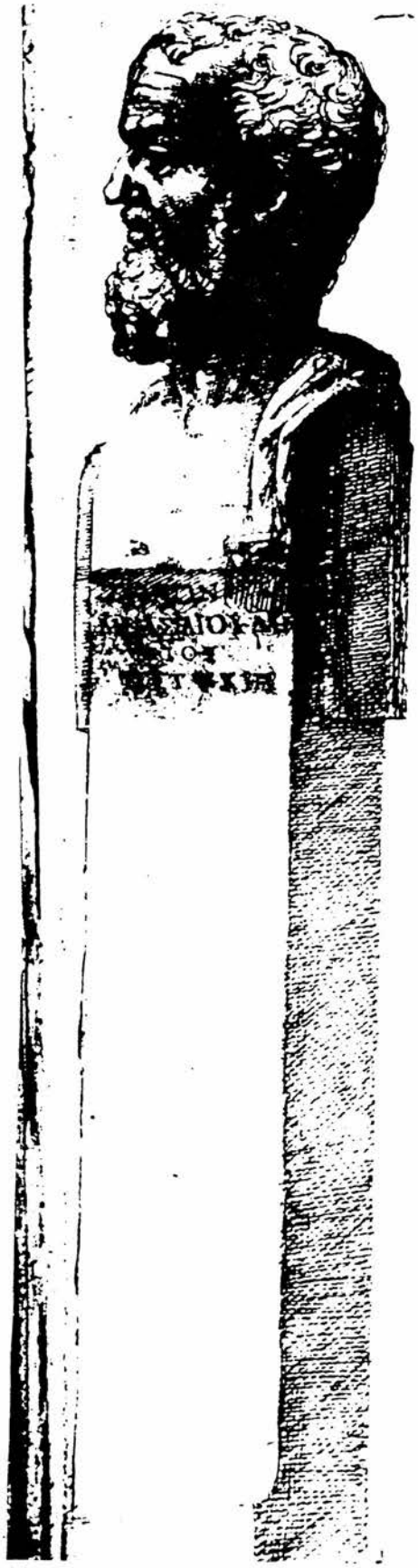


Fig. 96. Pirro Ligorio, Zenon Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 97. Zenon Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

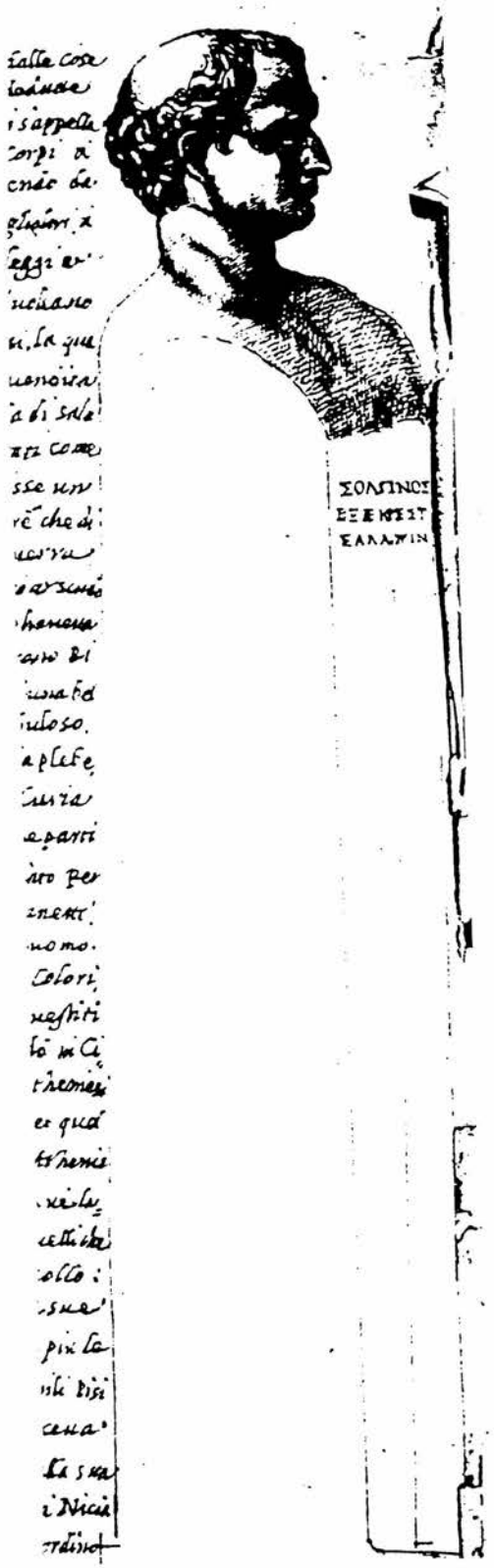


Fig. 98. Pirro Ligorio, Solon Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

Fig. 99. Solon Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

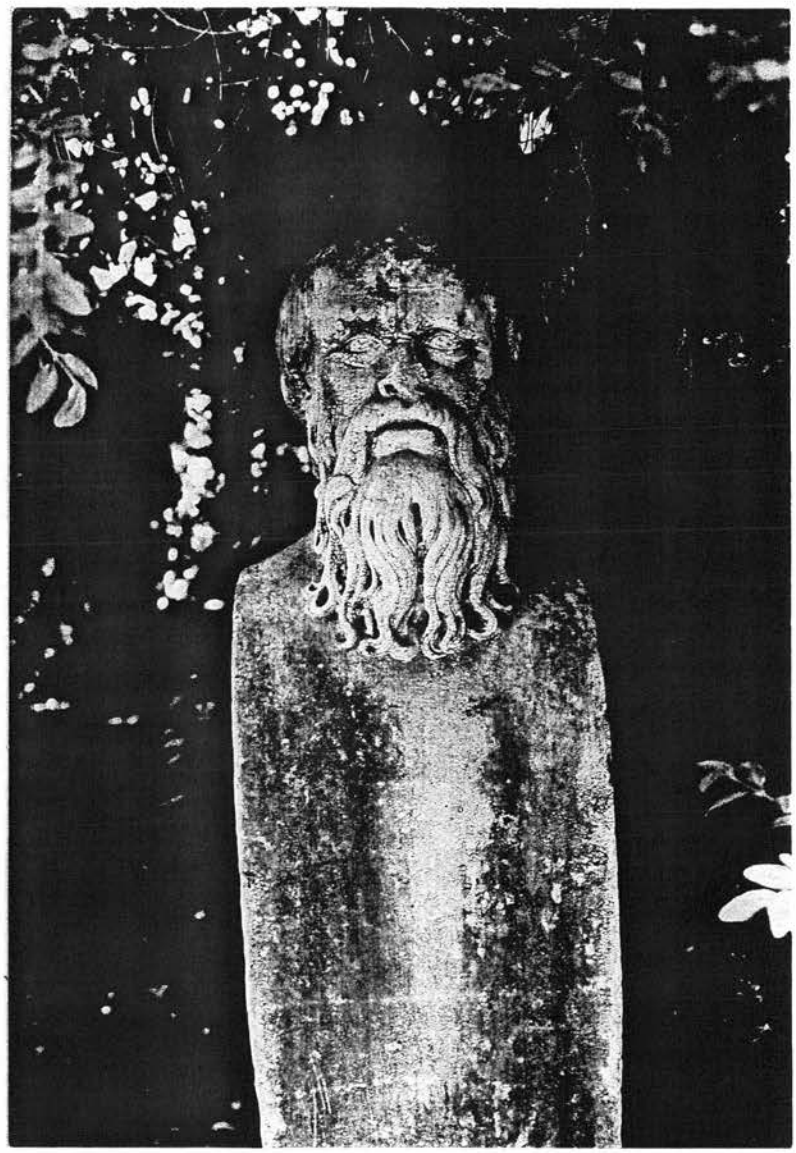


Fig. 100. Socrates Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

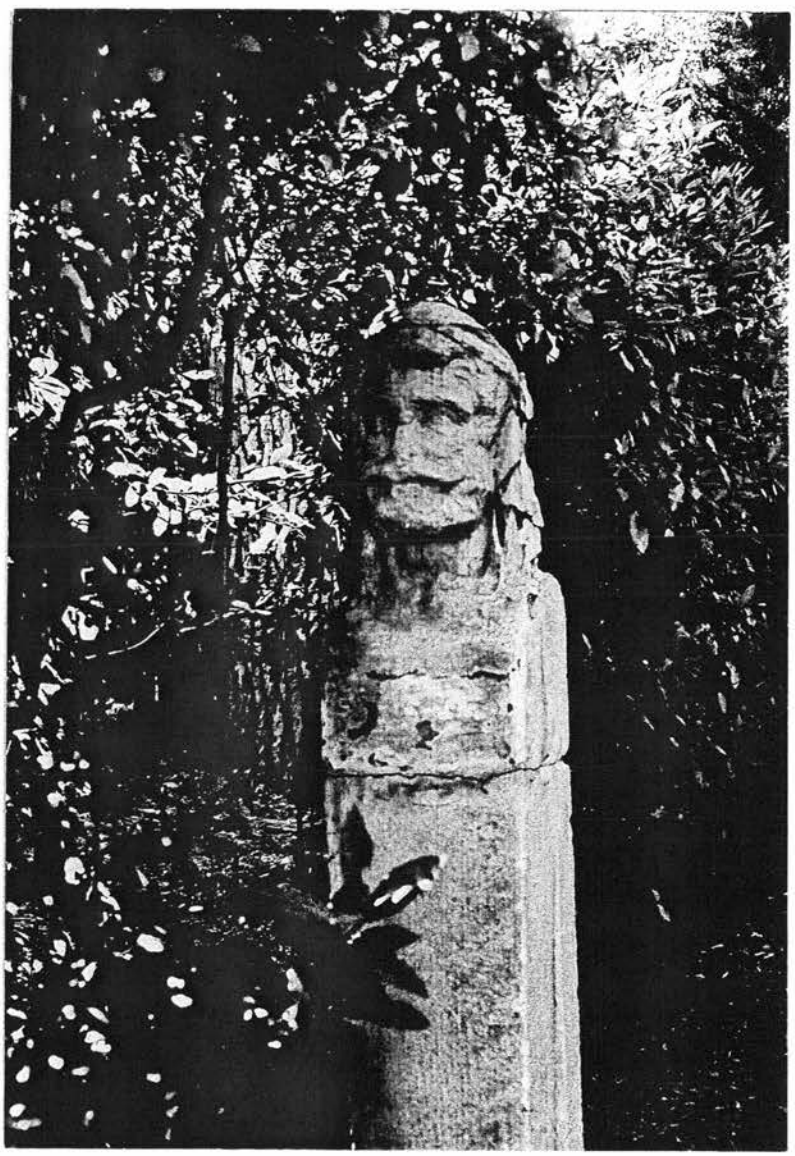


Fig. 101. Euripidies Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

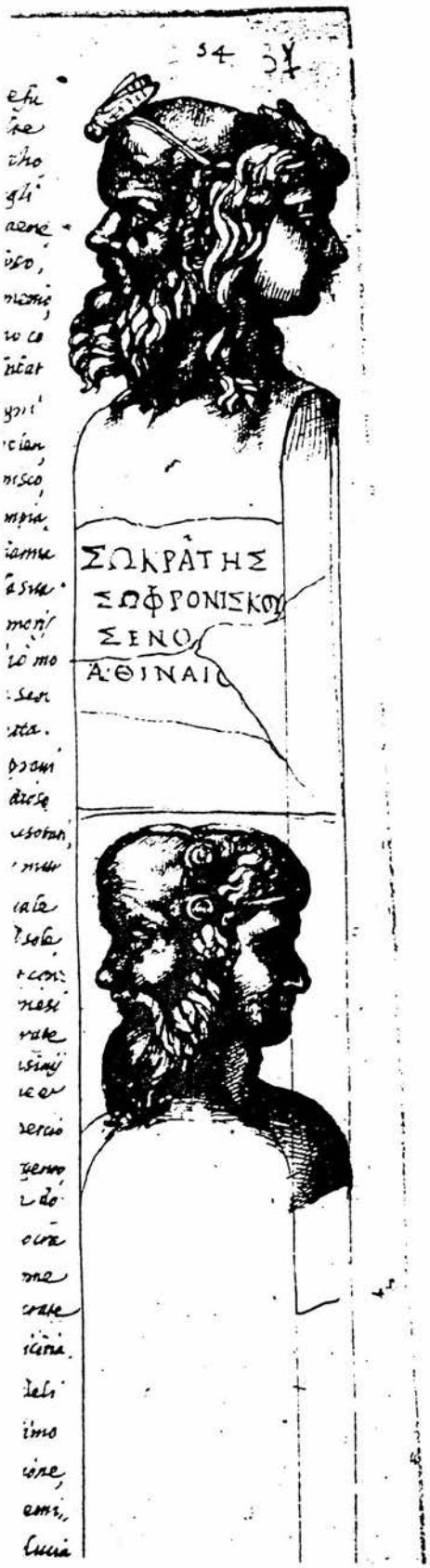


Fig. 102. Pirro Ligorio, Socrates Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

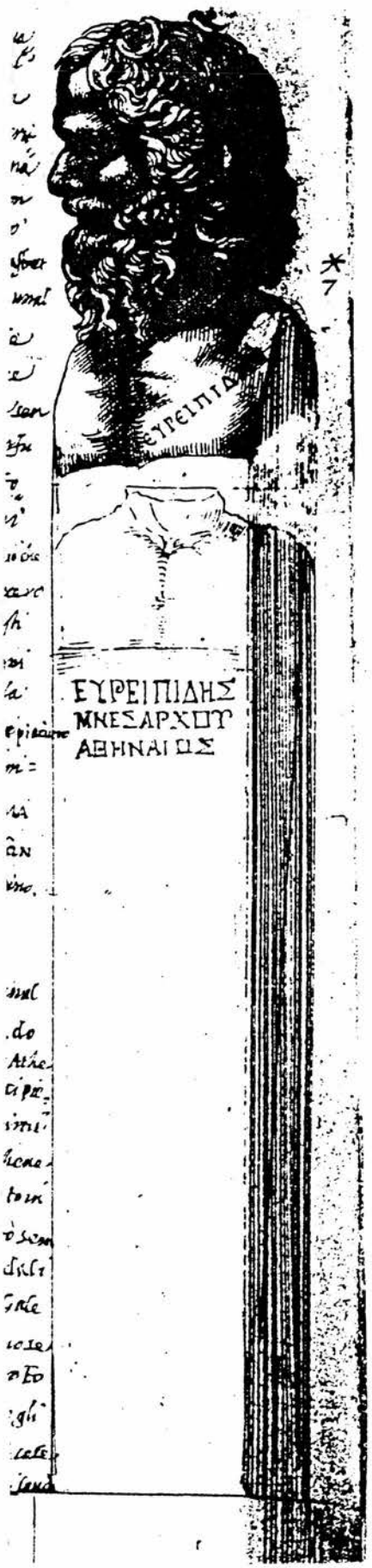


Fig. 103. Pirro Ligorio, Euripidies Herm, from Ms. 23, Turin, Archivio di Stato.

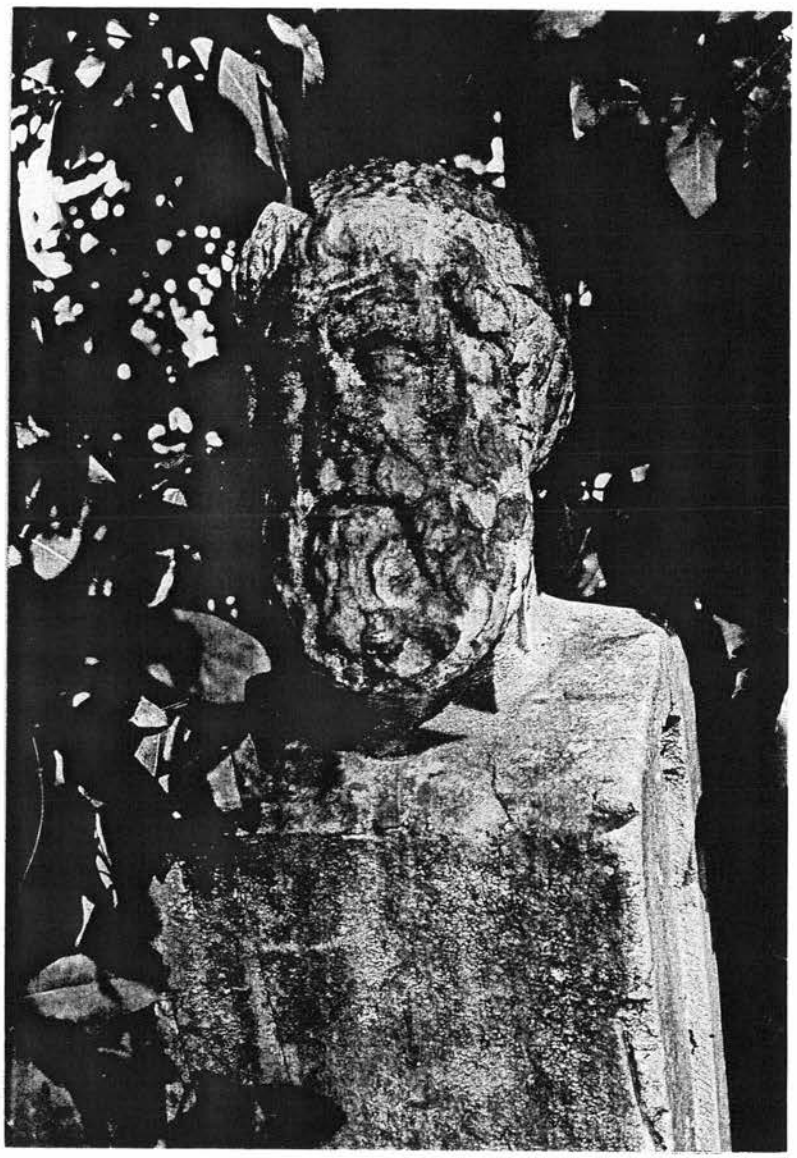


Fig. 104. "Farnese Type" Sophocles Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

Fig. 105. "Blind Type" Homer Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

Fig. 106. Drunken Pan Type Herm Portrait, Villa Medici, Rome.

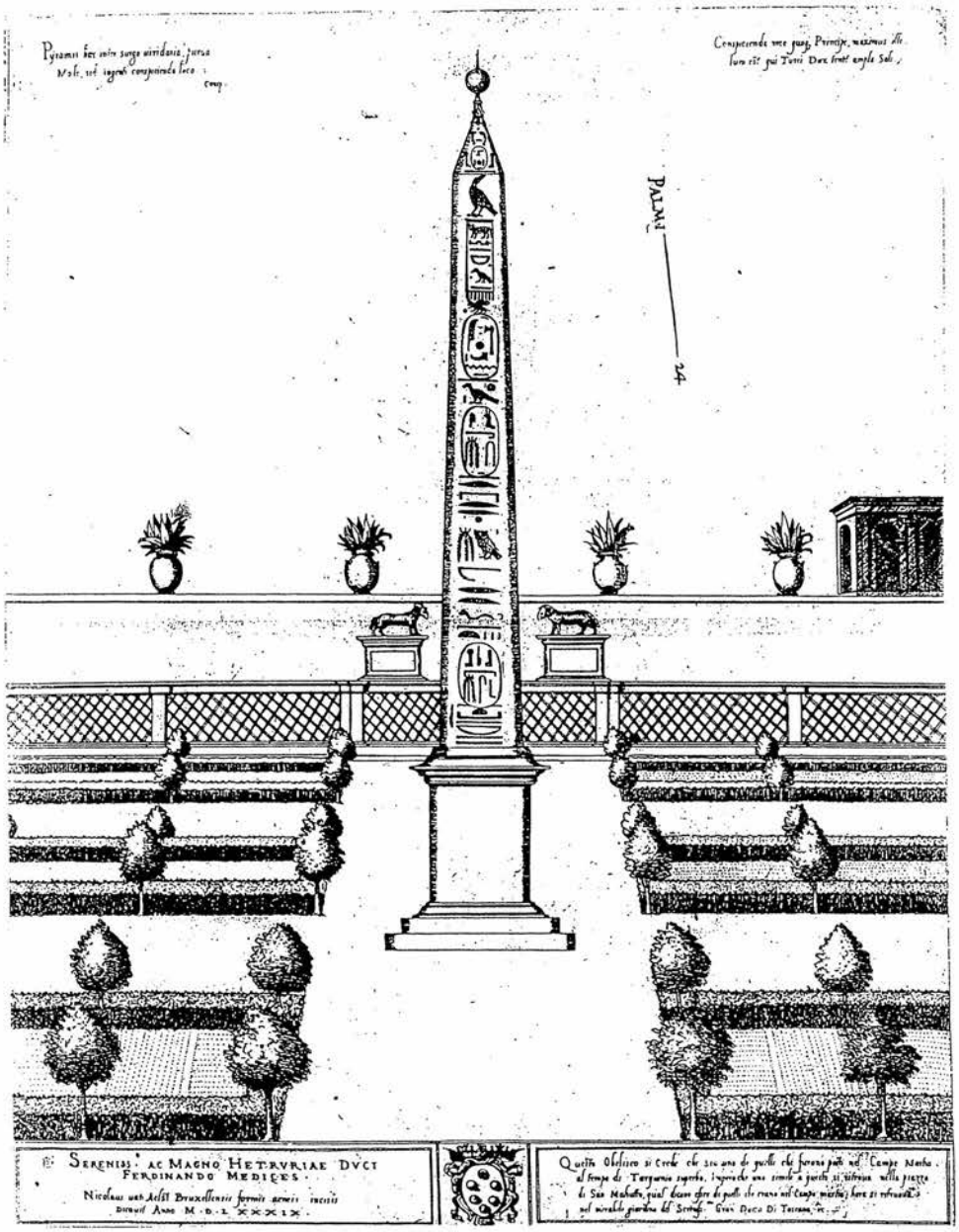


Fig. 107. Nicholas van Aelst, Villa Medici Obelisk, 1589, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

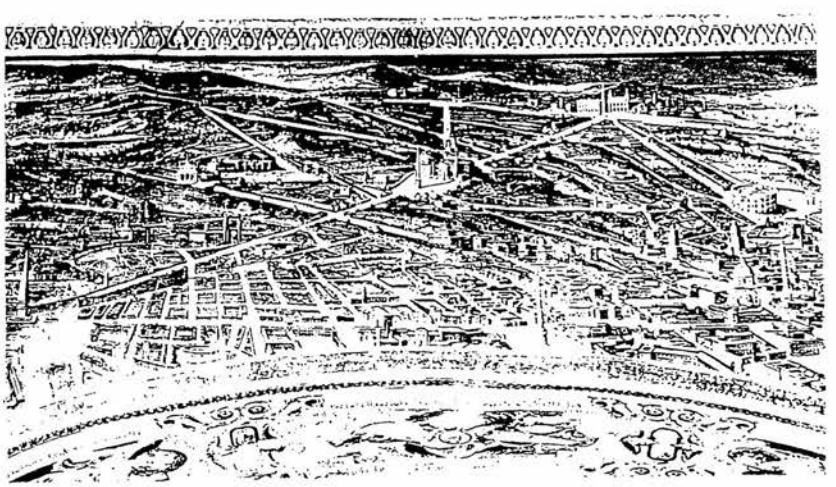


Fig. 108. Sixtus V's Plan for the Urban Renewal of Rome, Vatican Library.

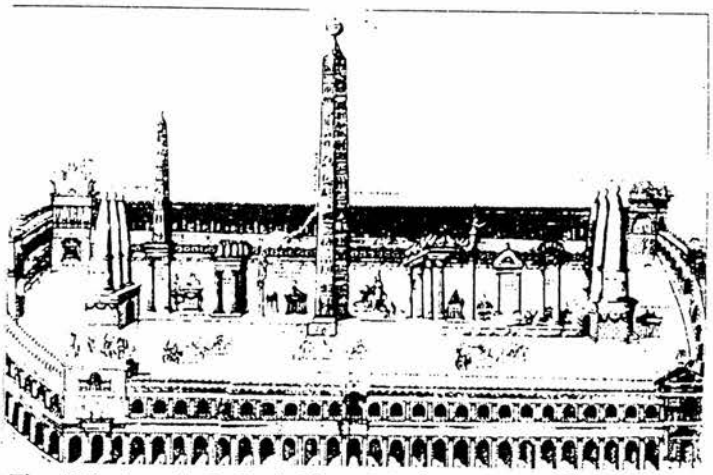


Fig. 109. Antonio Lafreri, Circus Maximus, Rome, from *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, c. 1570.

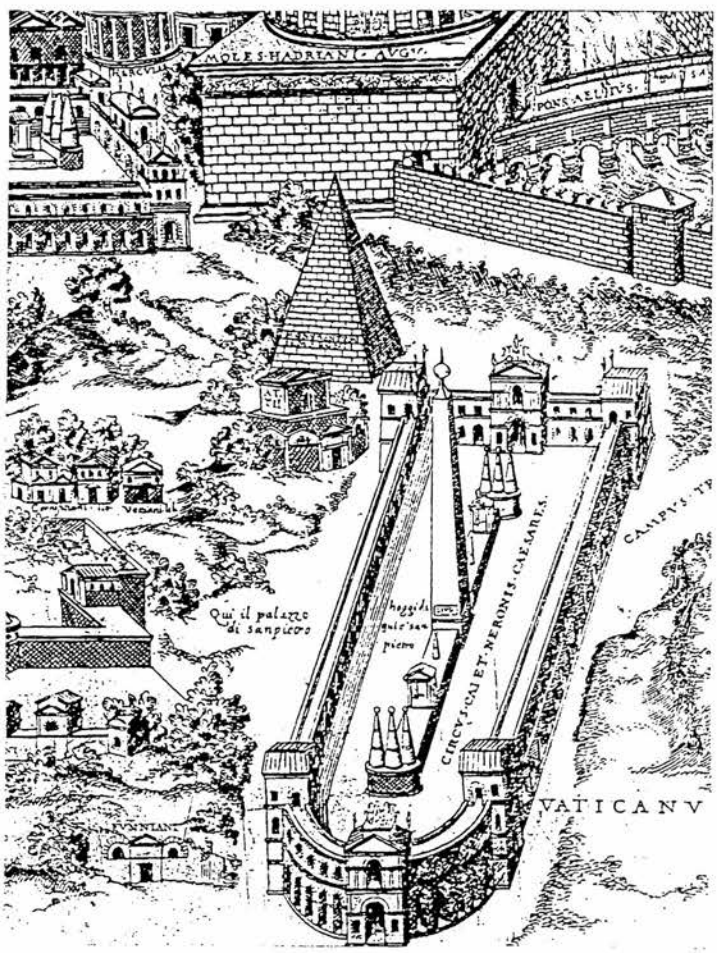


Fig. 110. Pirro Ligorio, Circus of the Vatican or Nero, Rome, from *Antique Urbis Imago*, 1561.

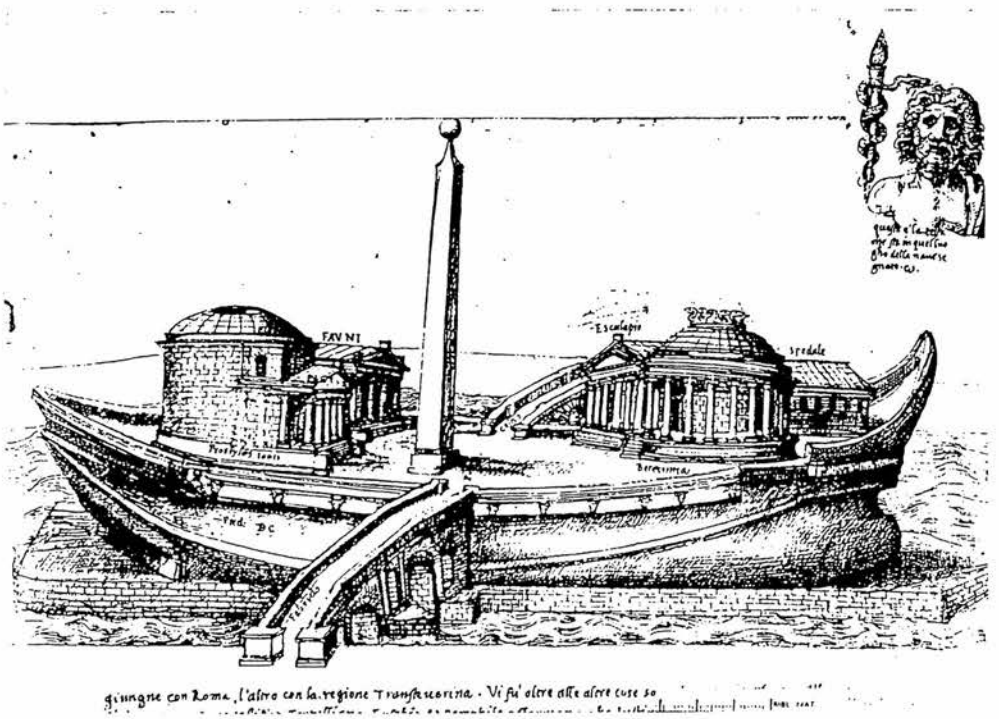


Fig. 111. Pirro Ligorio, Tiber Island, Rome, from Ms. 839, Ital. 1129, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

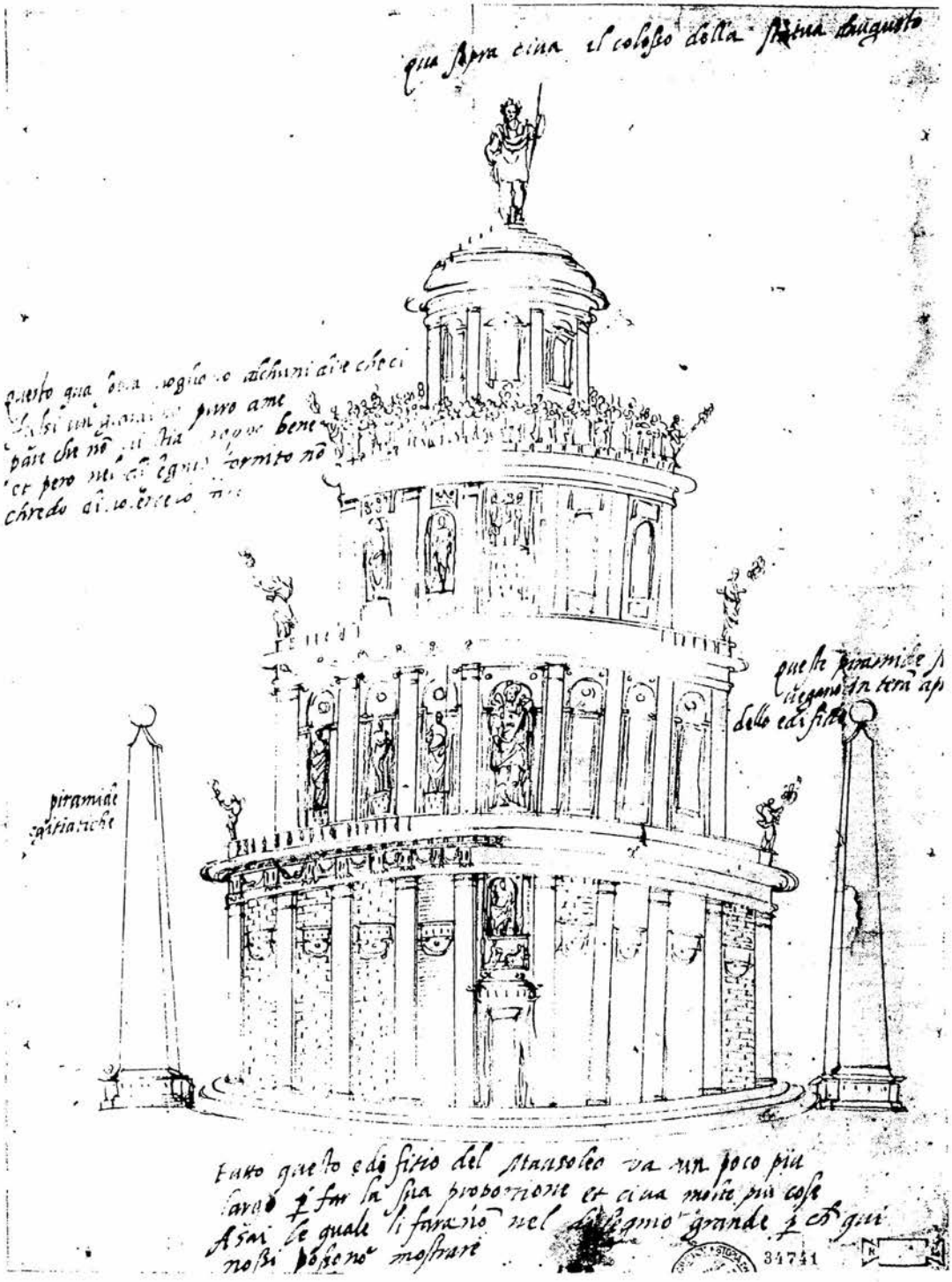


Fig. 112. Pirro Ligorio, Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, from Codex Ursinianus, Vat. Lat. 3439, Rome, Vatican Library.

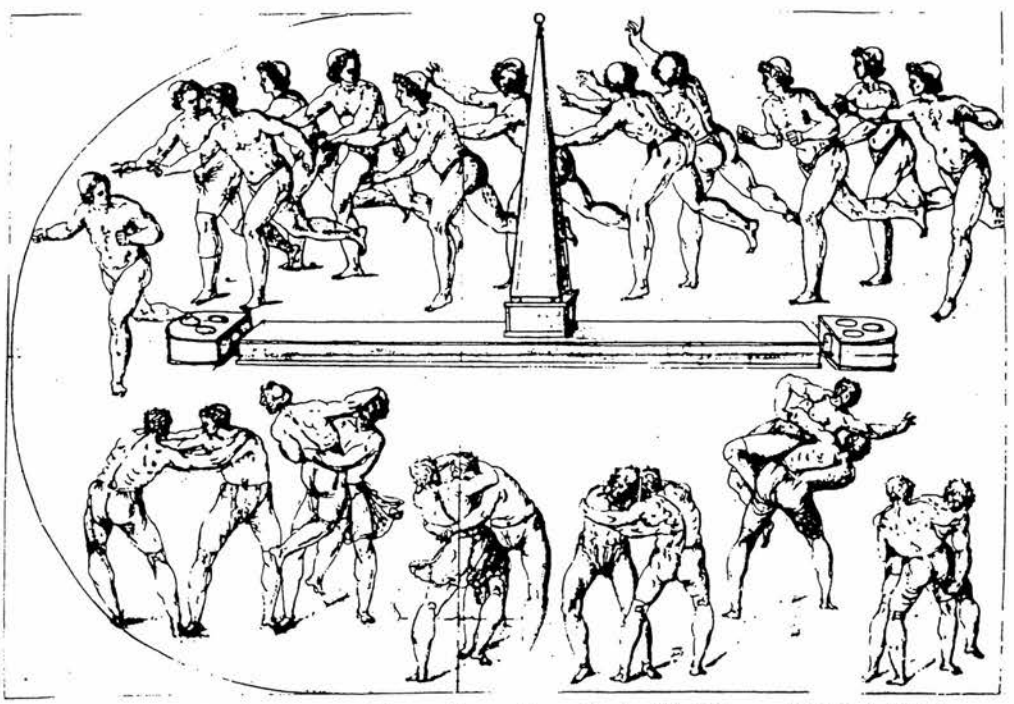


Fig. 113. Pirro Ligorio, Roman Circus Sport, from Codex Ursinianus, Vat. Lat. 3439, Rome, Vatican Library.

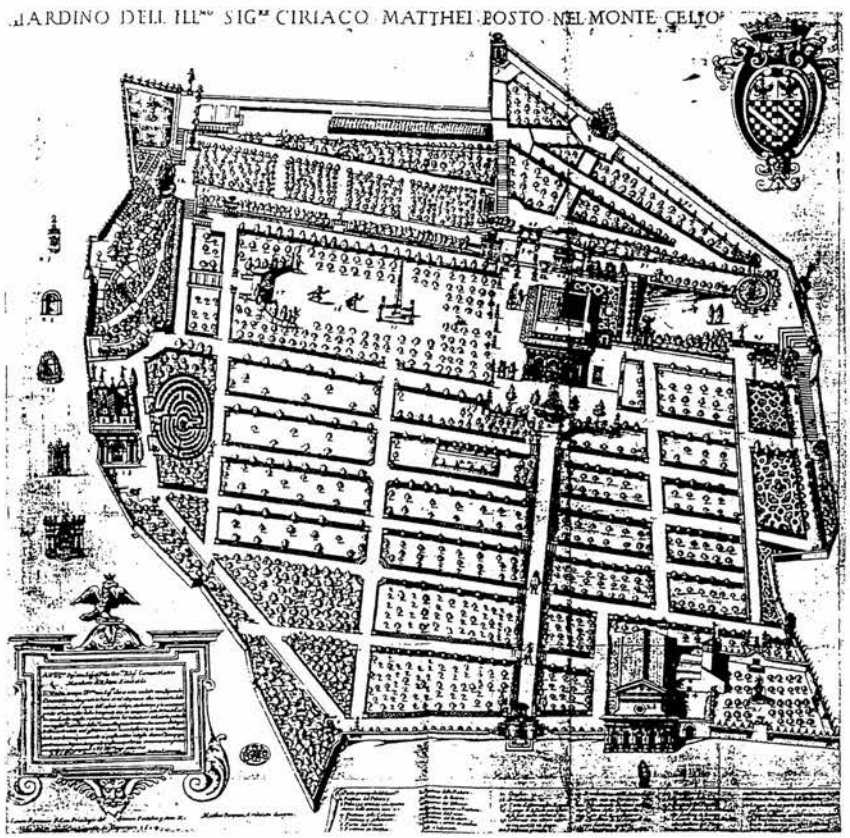


Fig. 114. Giacomo Lauro, Villa Mattei, Rome, 1614, London, British Library.

Fig. 115. Nicholas van Aelst, Piazza of S. Macuto, Rome, 1589, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

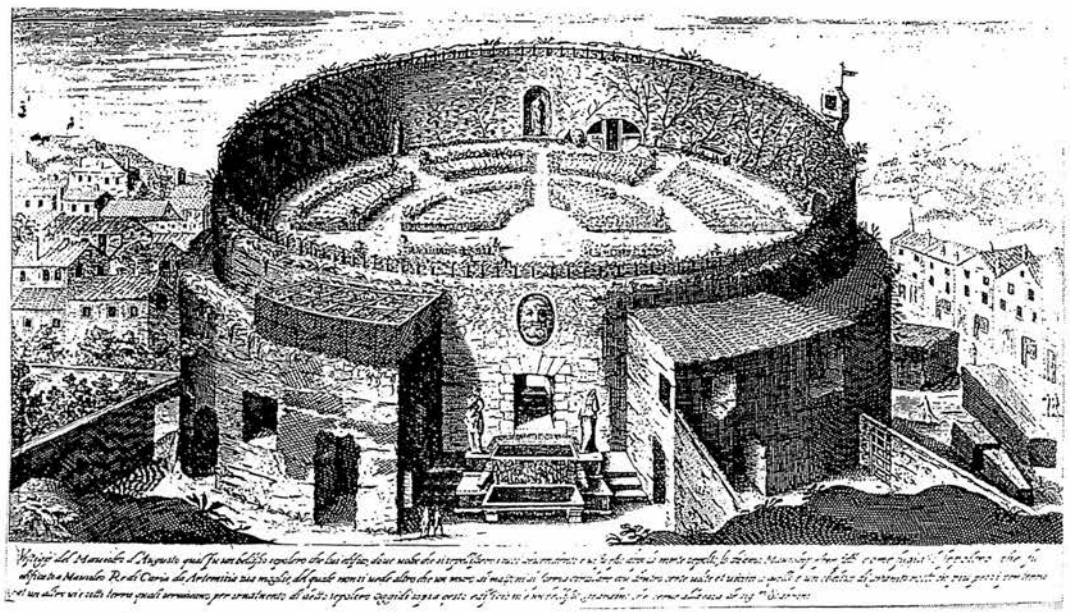


Fig. 116. Étienne Dupérac, Mausoleum of Augustus, Rome, from *I Vestigi dell' antichità*, 1575.

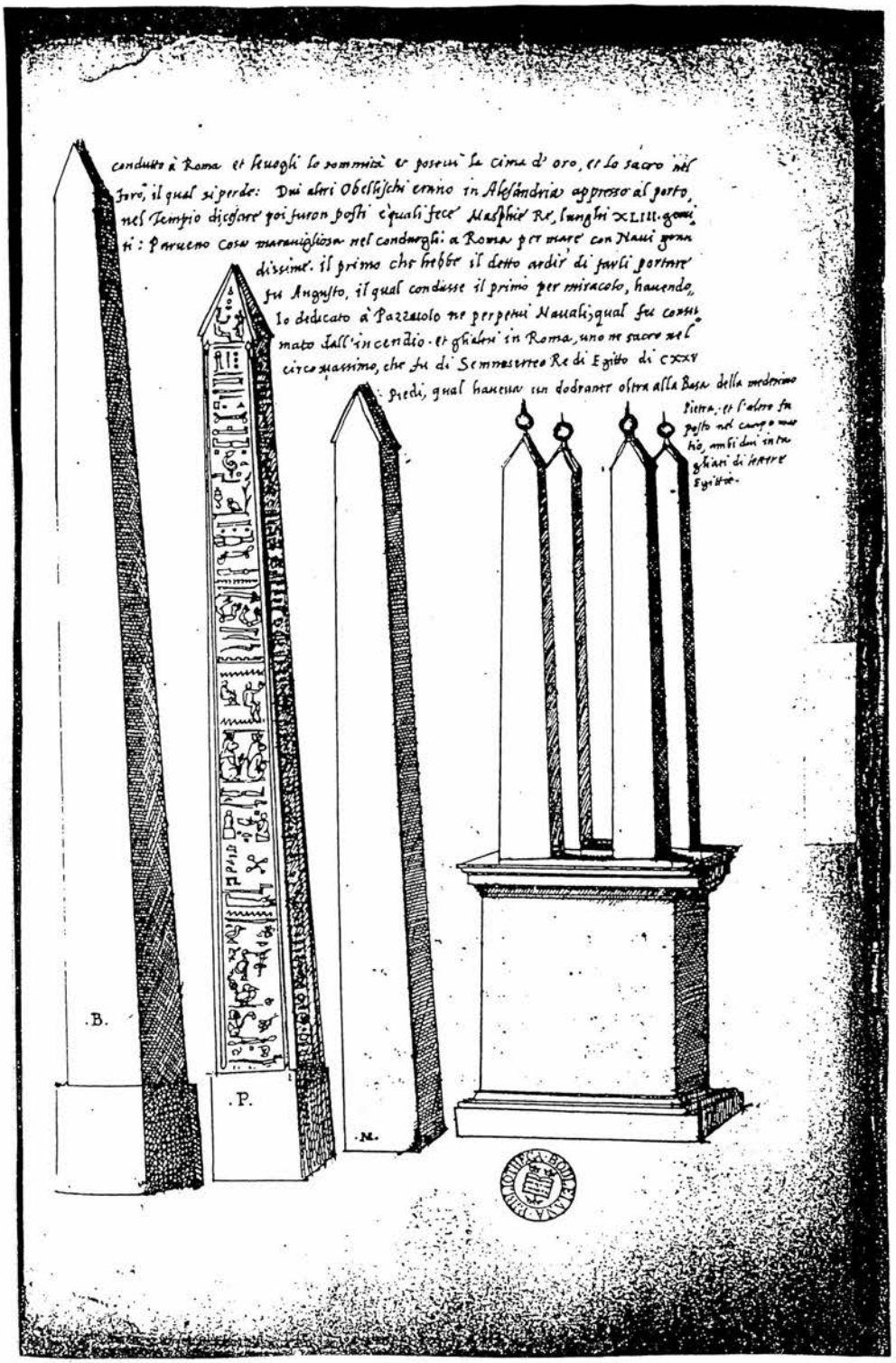


Fig. 117. Pirro Ligorio, Obelisks from Rome, from Codex Bodleianus, *Libro della antichità*, Oxford, Bodleian Library.

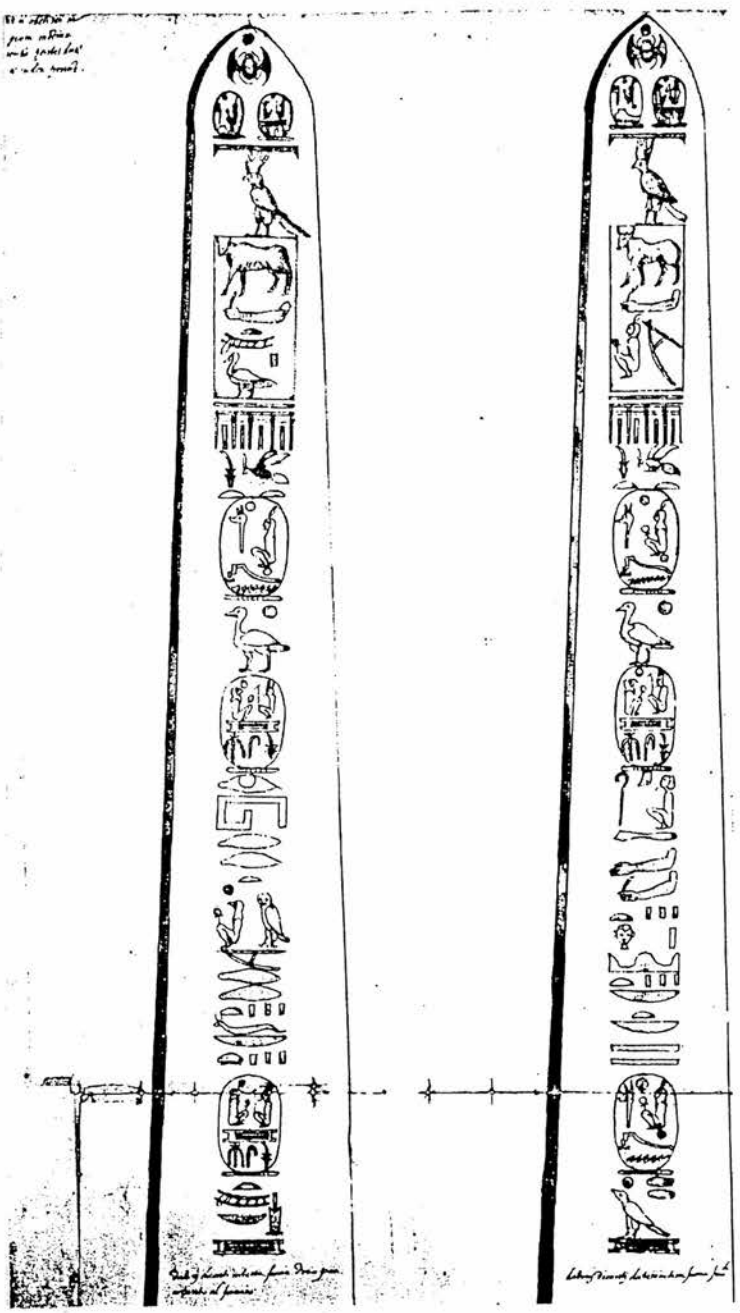


Fig. 118. Pirro Ligorio, Villa Medici Obelisk, from Codex Ursinianus, Vat. Lat. 3439, Rome, Vatican Library.

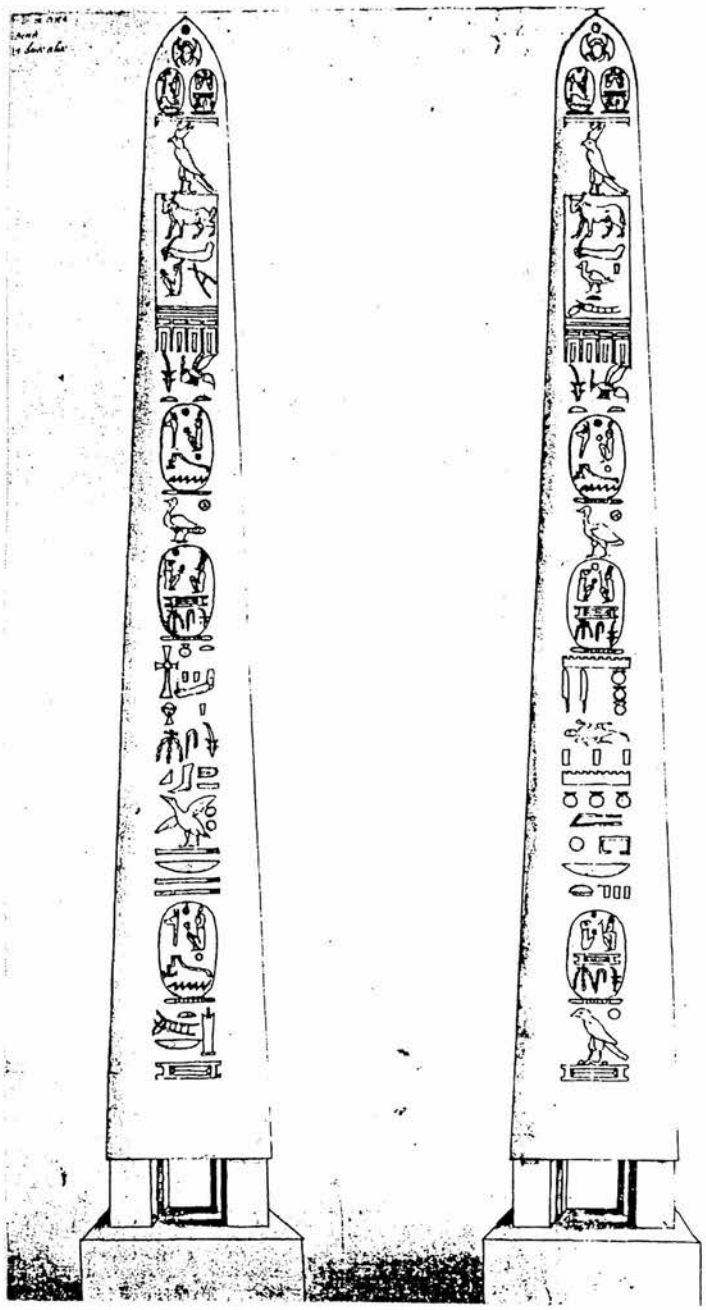


Fig. 119. Pirro Ligorio, Obelisk of S. Macuto, from Codex Ursinianus, Vat. Lat. 3439, Rome, Vatican Library.

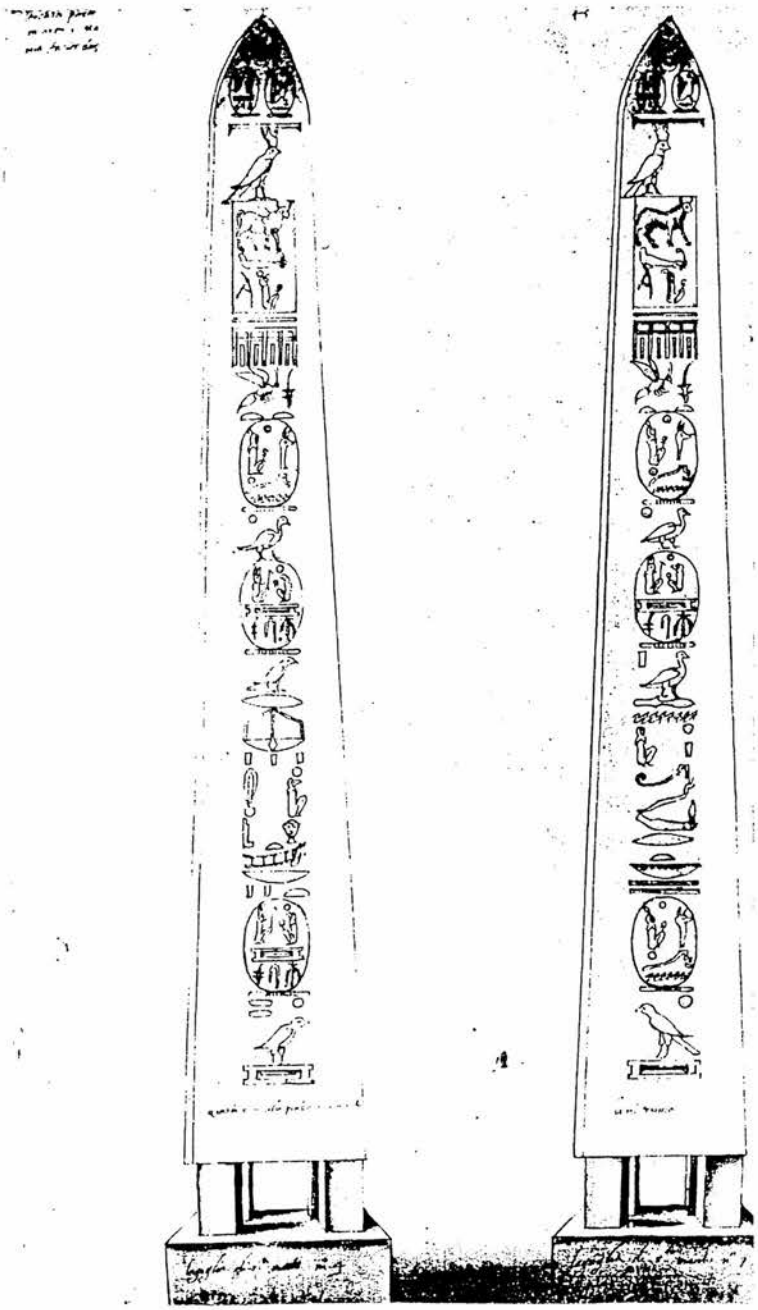


Fig. 120. Pirro Ligorio, Obelisk of S. Macuto, from Codex Ursinianus, Vat. Lat. 3439, Rome, Vatican Library.

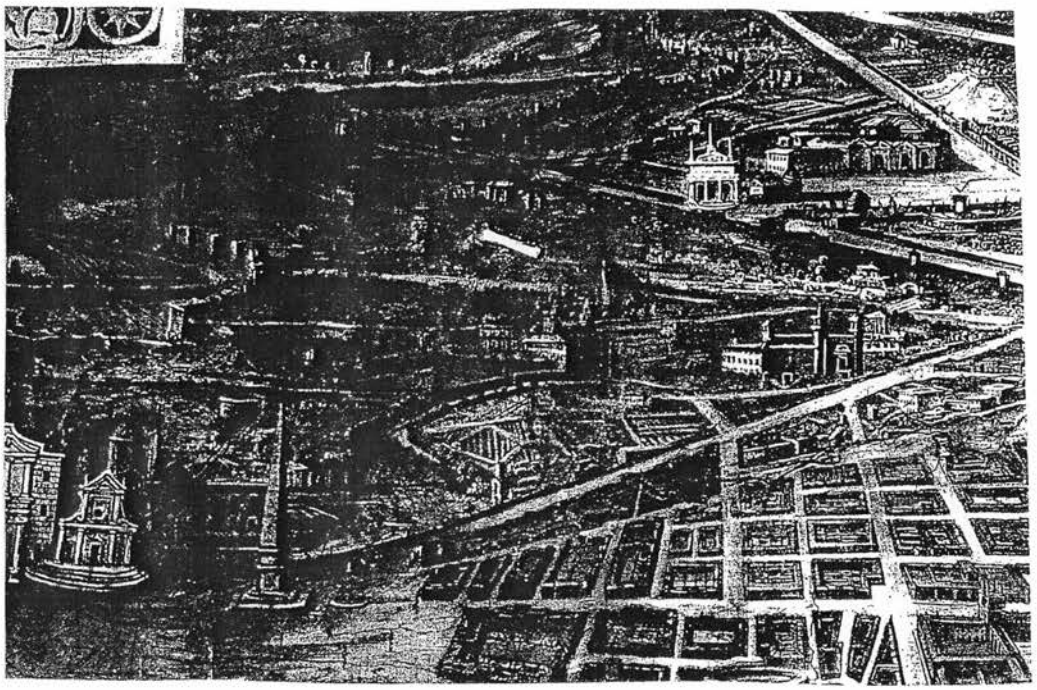


Fig. 121. Rome, North-West, Vatican Library, Rome. (Detail of Fig. 111)

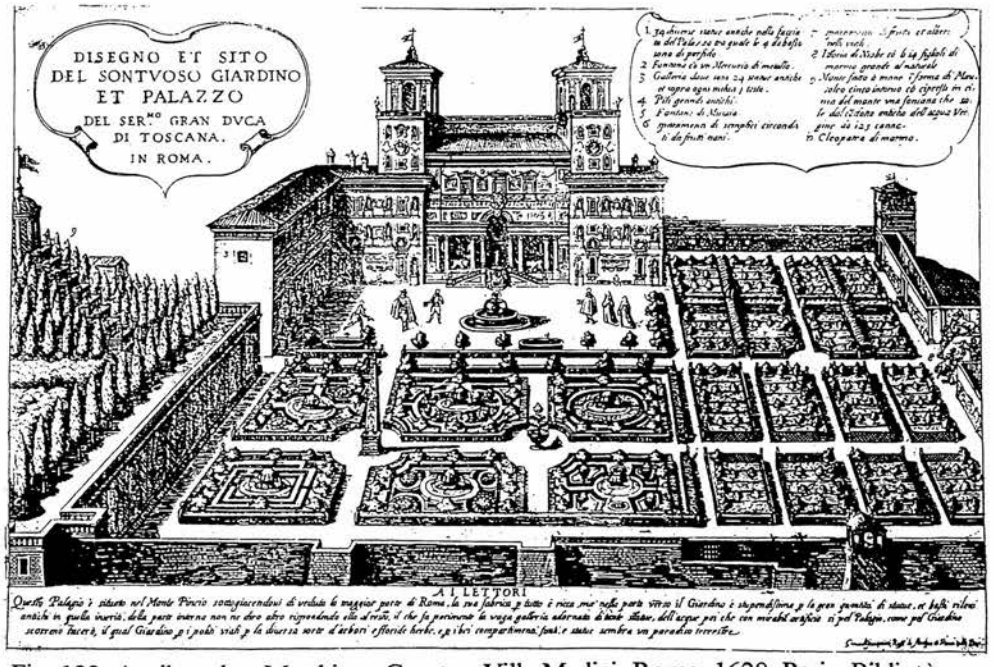


Fig. 122. Attributed to Matthieus Grueter, Villa Medici, Rome, 1620, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

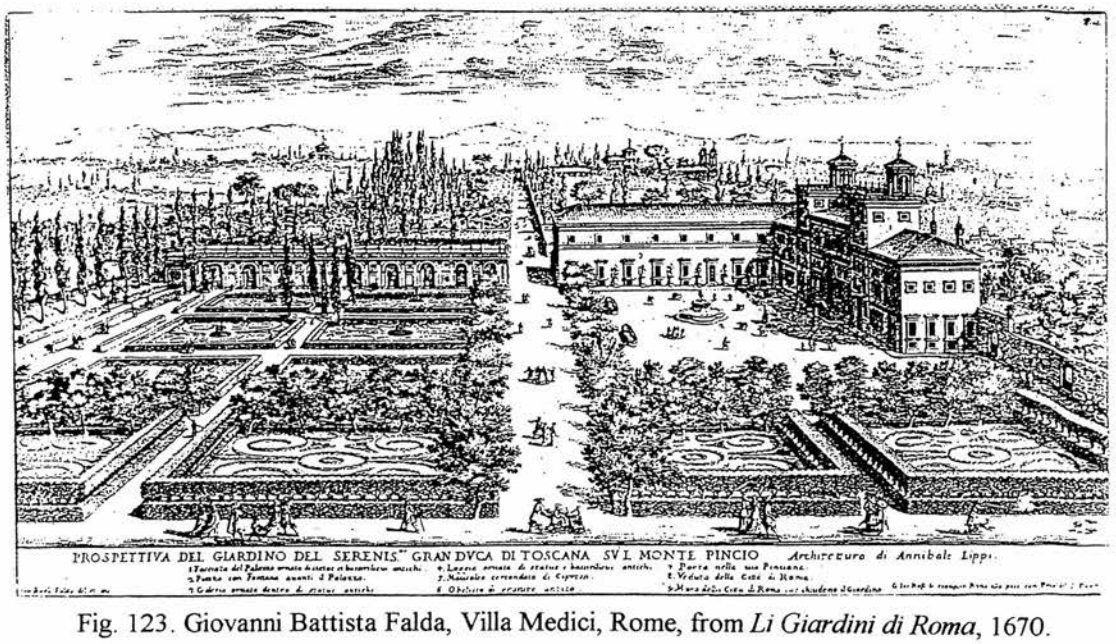


Fig. 123. Giovanni Battista Falda, Villa Medici, Rome, from *Li Giardini di Roma*, 1670.

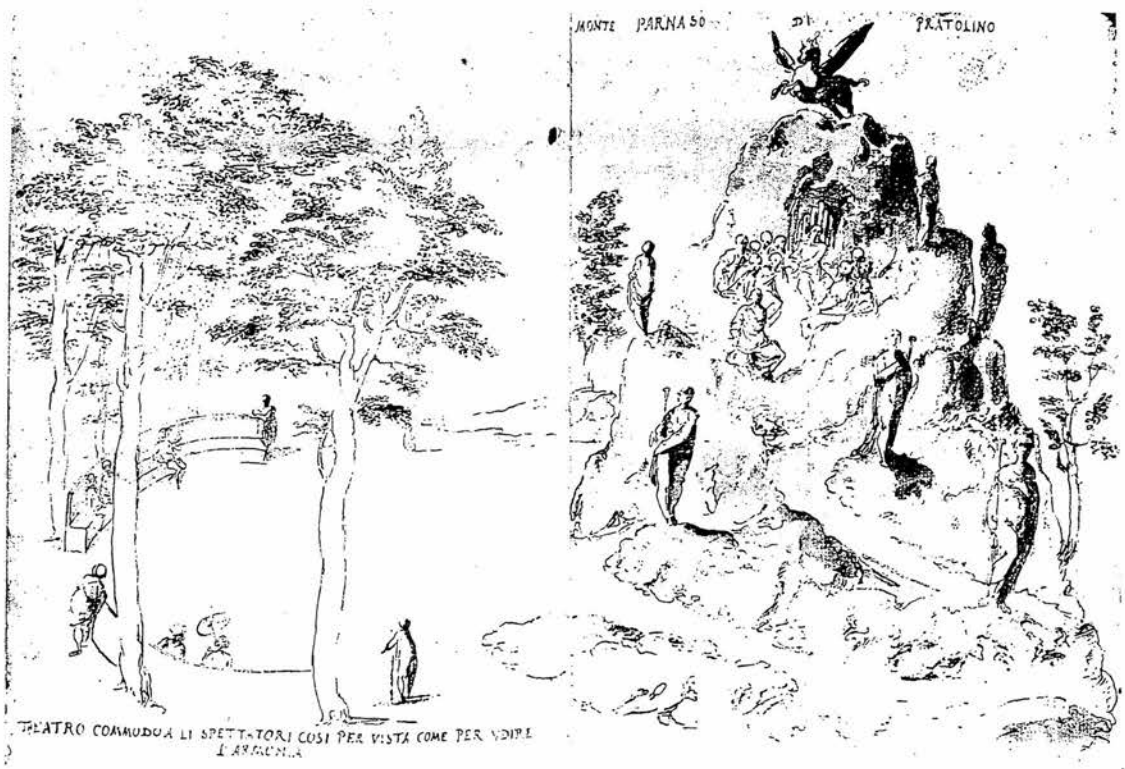


Fig. 124. Giovanni Guerra, Mount Parnassus, Villa Medici, Pratolino, 1604, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

Fig. 125. Sarcophagus with Sacrifice of a Bull Scene, Florence, Uffizi Gallery.

Fig. 126. Pirro Ligorio, Mausoleum of Hadrian, from *Antique Urbis Imago*, 1561.

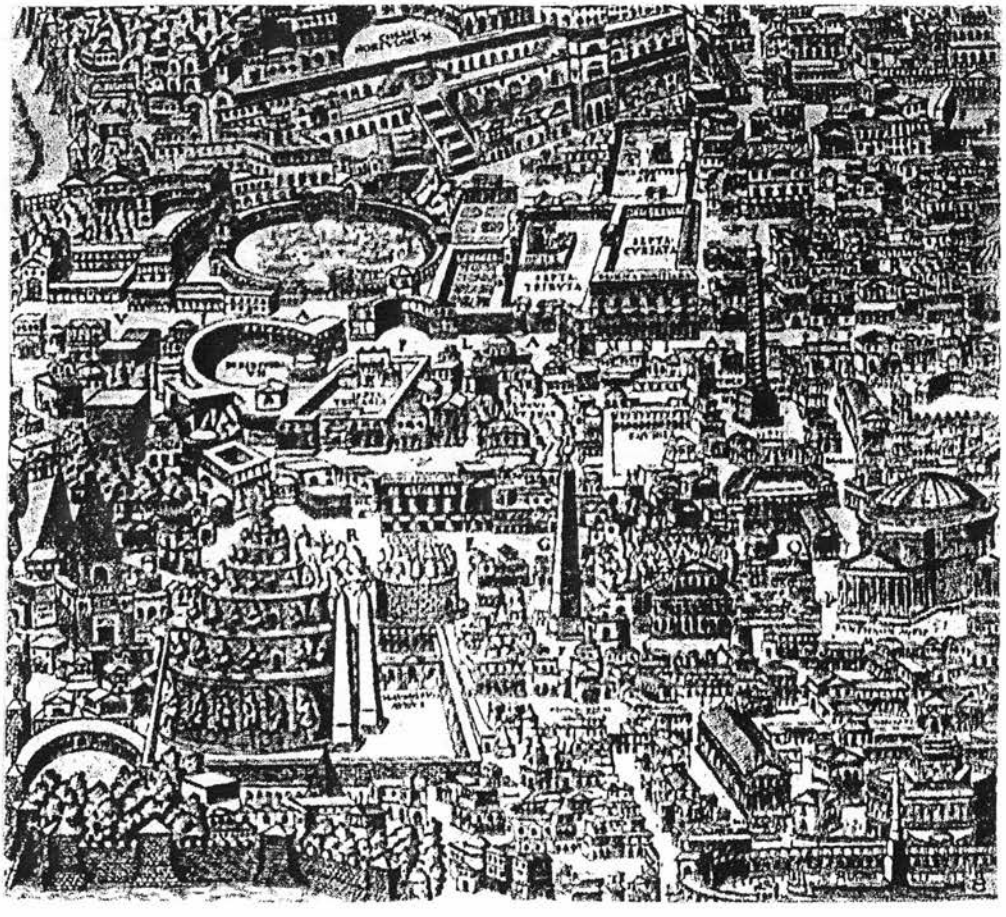


Fig. 127. Pirro Ligorio, Mausoleum of Augustus, from *Antique Urbis Imago*, 1561.

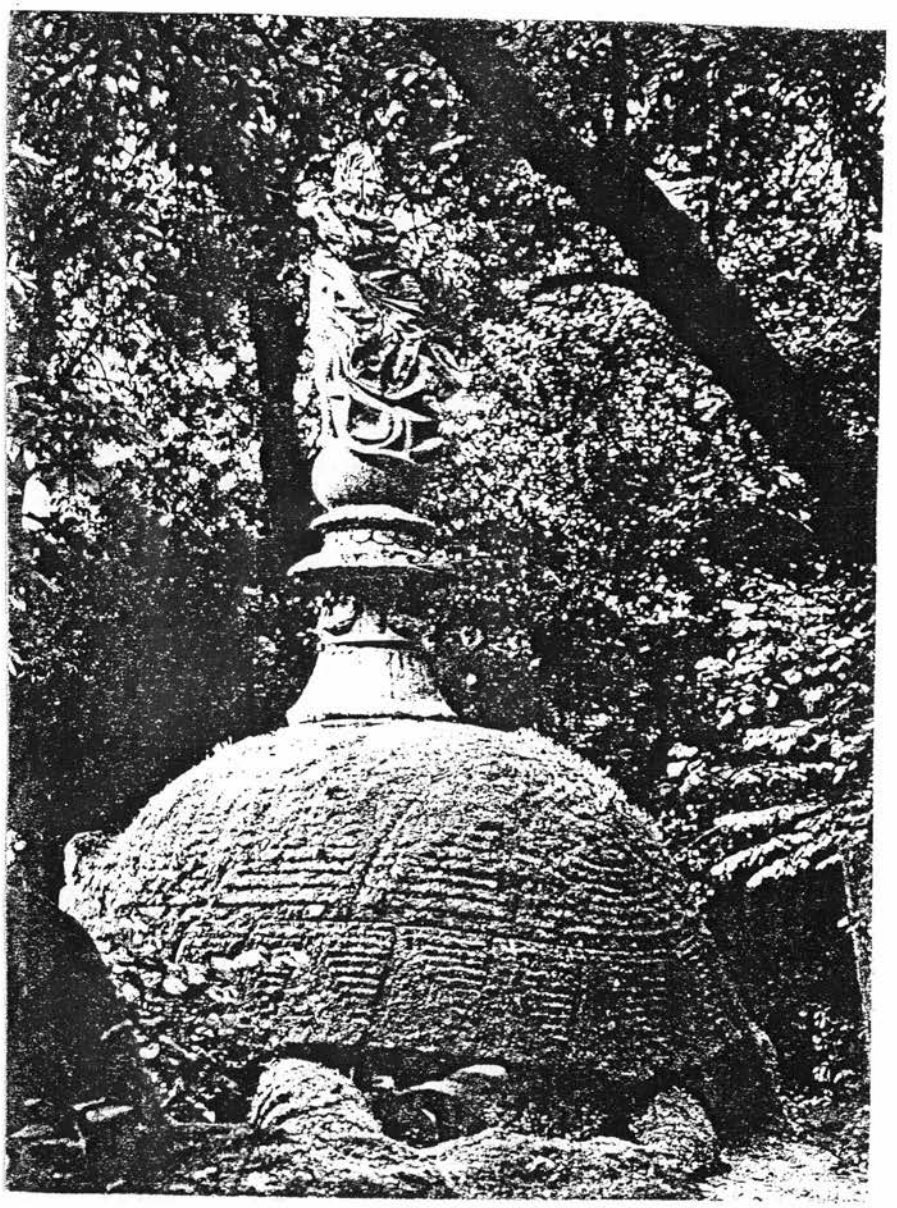


Fig. 128. Tortoise Supporting a Figure of Fame, Sacro Bosco, Bomarzo.

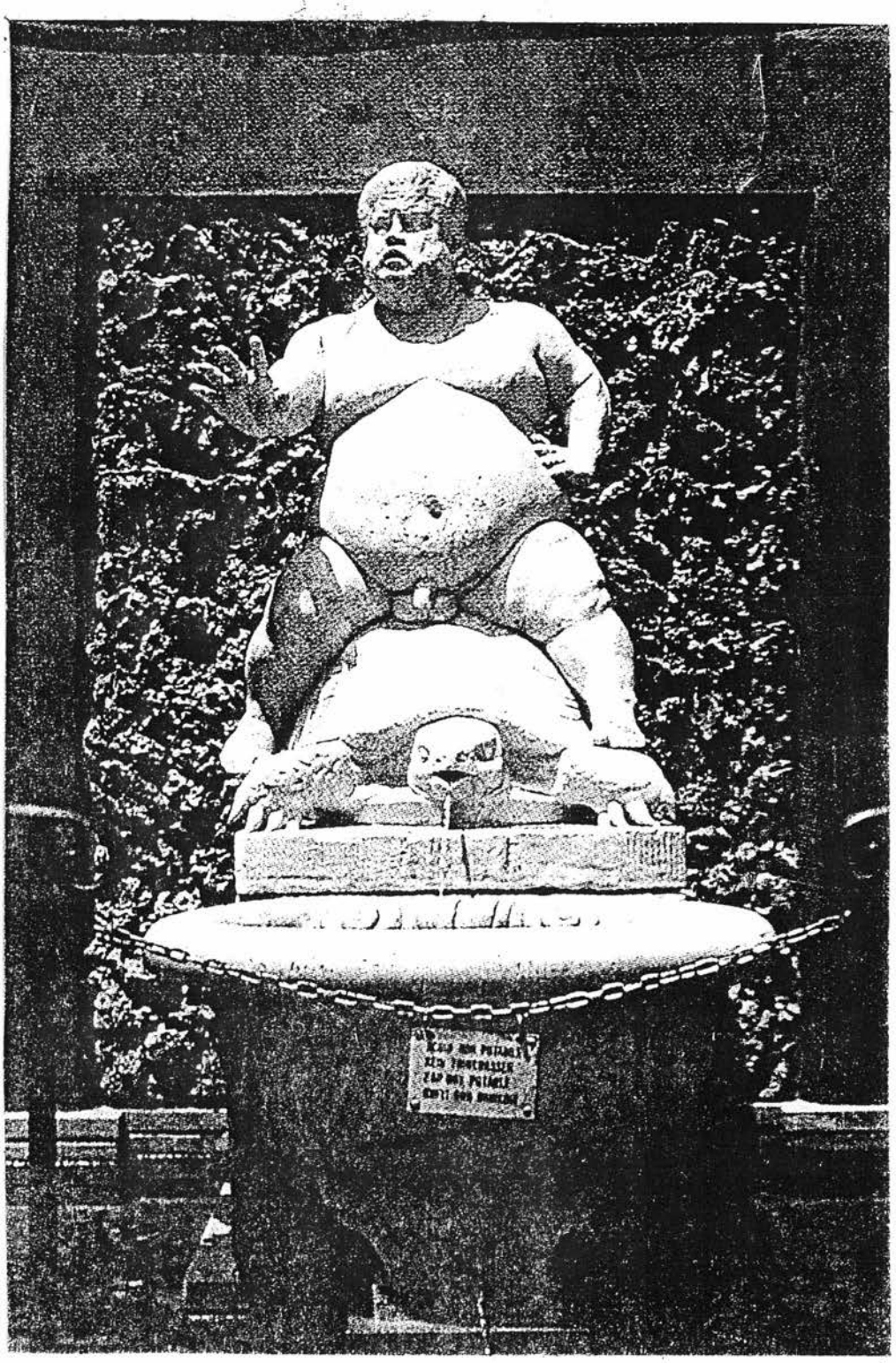


Fig. 129. Tortoise Supporting a figure of Morgante, Florence, Boboli Gardens.

Fig. 130. Grotto of the Animals, Villa Medici, Castello.

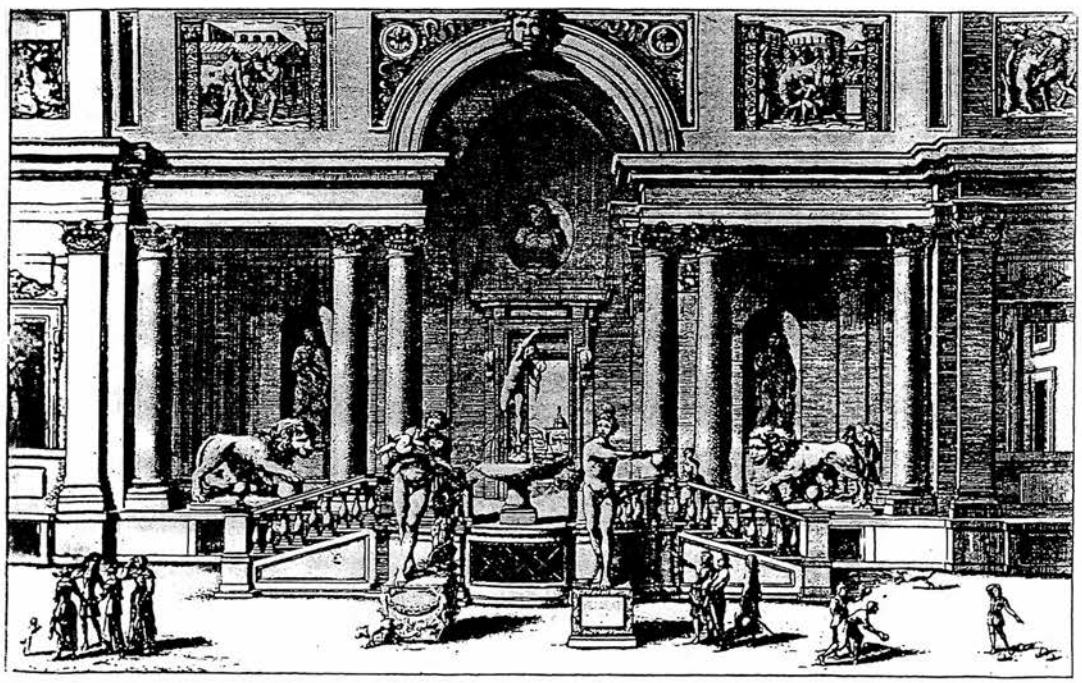


Fig. 131. Giovanni Francesco Venturini, Villa Medici Loggia, from *Le Fontane ne' palazzi e ne' giardini di Roma*.

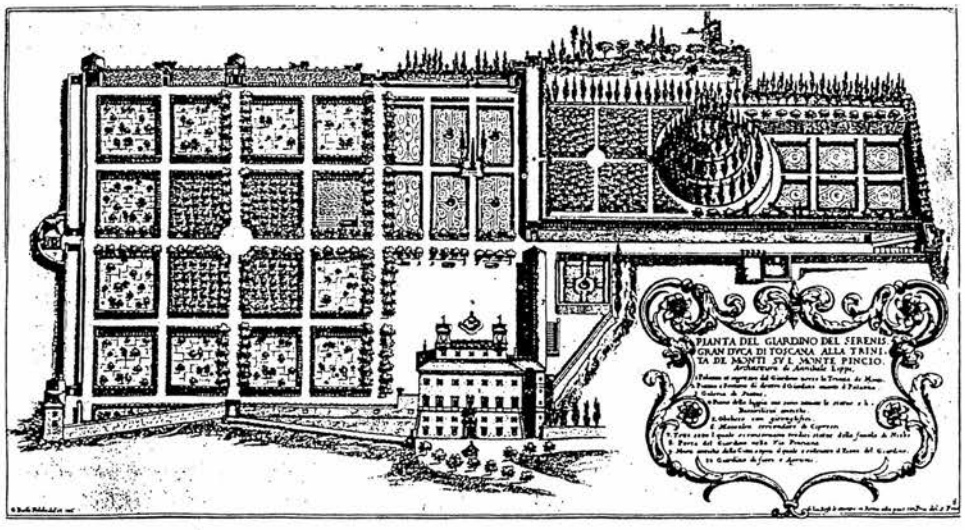


Fig. 132.Giovanni Battista Falda, Villa Medici, Rome, 1667, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale.

Fig. 133. François Perrier, Niobe Group, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

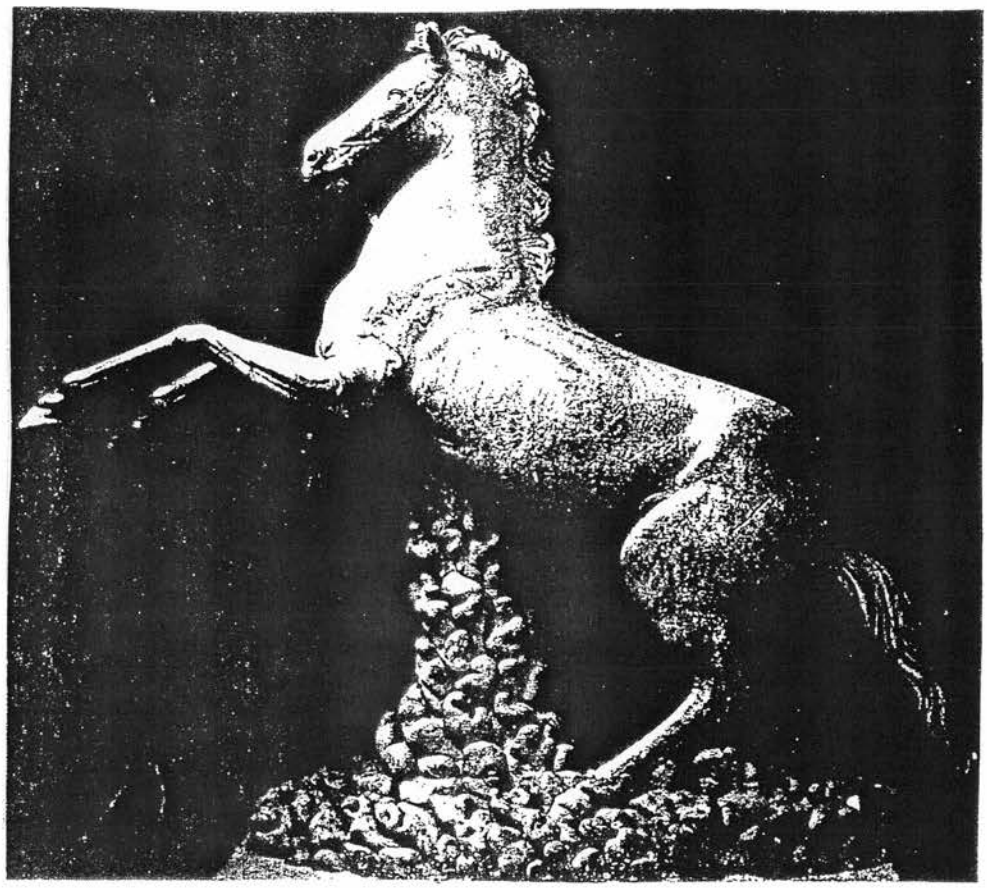


Fig. 134. Rearing Horse, Florence, Uffizi Gallery.

Fig. 135. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 136. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Pedagogue, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

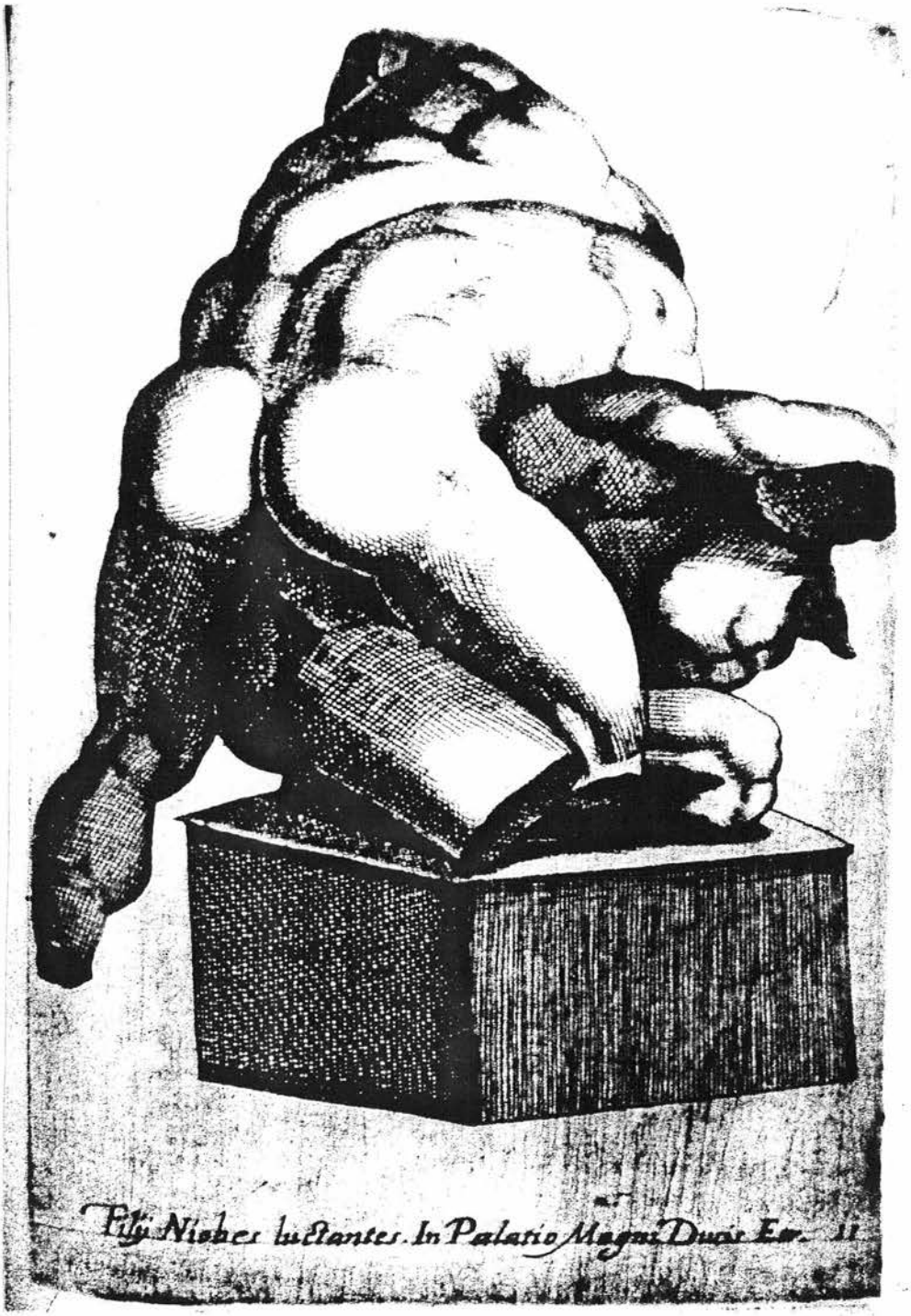


Fig. 137. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, The Wrestlers, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 138. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Son, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 139. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Son, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 140. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Son, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

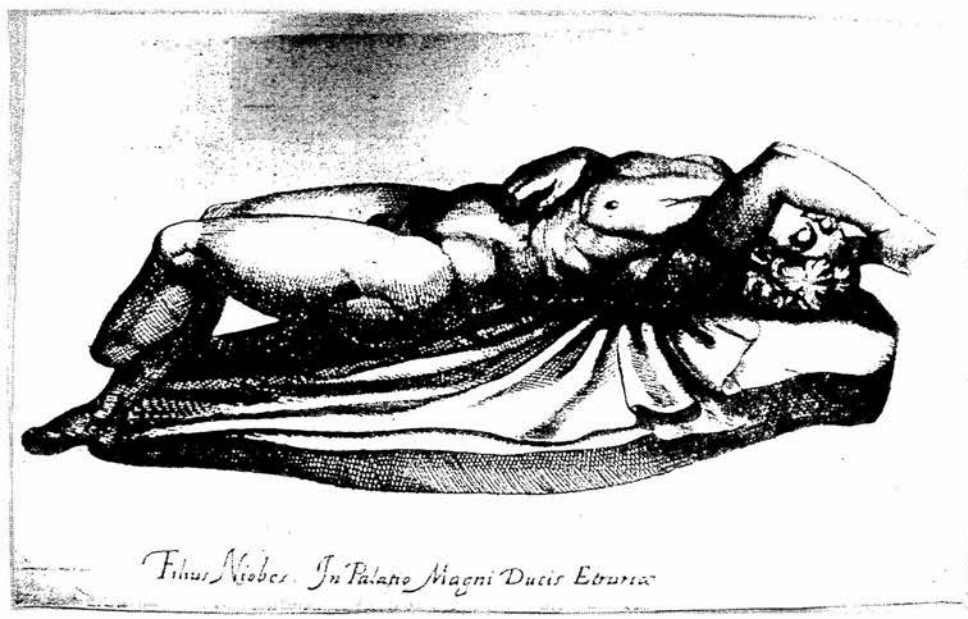


Fig. 141. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Son, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 142. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Daughter, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 143. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Daughter, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 144. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Daughter, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 145. Giovanbattista Cavalieri, Niobid Daughter, from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae*, Rome, 1594.

Fig. 146. François Perrier, The Wrestlers, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

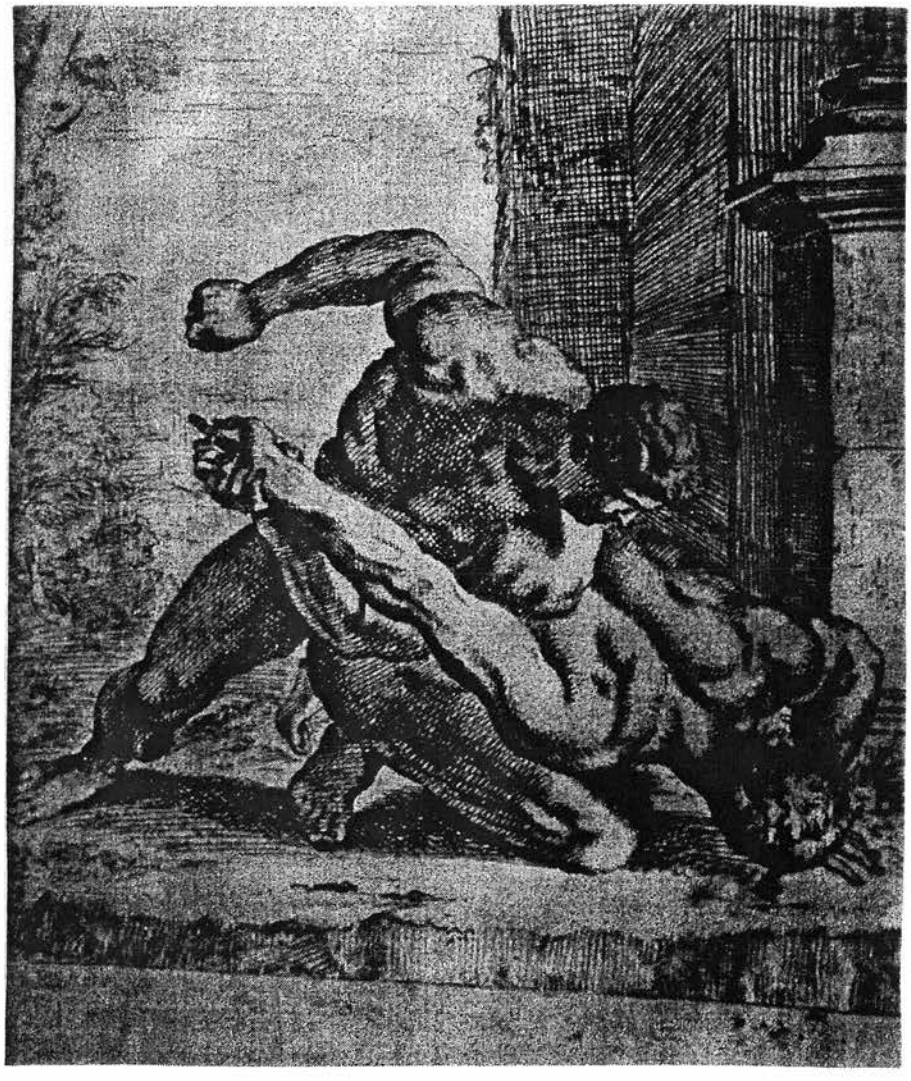


Fig. 147. François Perrier, The Wrestlers, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

Fig. 148. François Perrier, Niobid Son, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

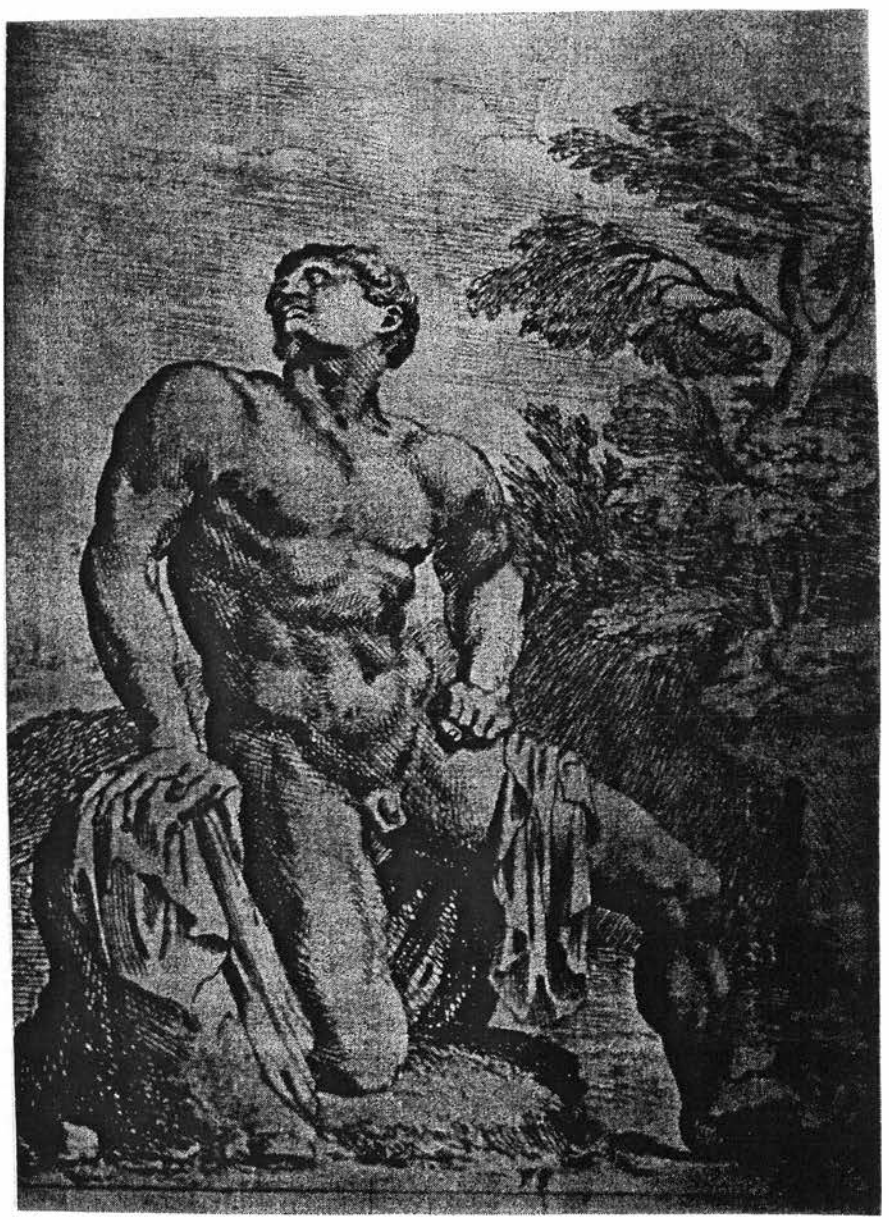


Fig. 149. François Perrier, Niobid Son, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

Fig. 150. François Perrier, Niobe Holding her Youngest Daughter, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

Fig. 151. François Perrier, Niobid Daughter, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

Fig. 152. François Perrier, Niobid Daughter, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

Fig. 153. François Perrier, Niobid Daughter, from *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase*, Rome and Paris, 1638.

Fig. 154. Niobid Daughter, Florence, Uffizi Gallery.

Fig. 155. Crouching 'Psyche,' Rome, Capitoline Museum.

Fig. 156. Niobid Sarcophagus, Wiltshire, Wilton House.

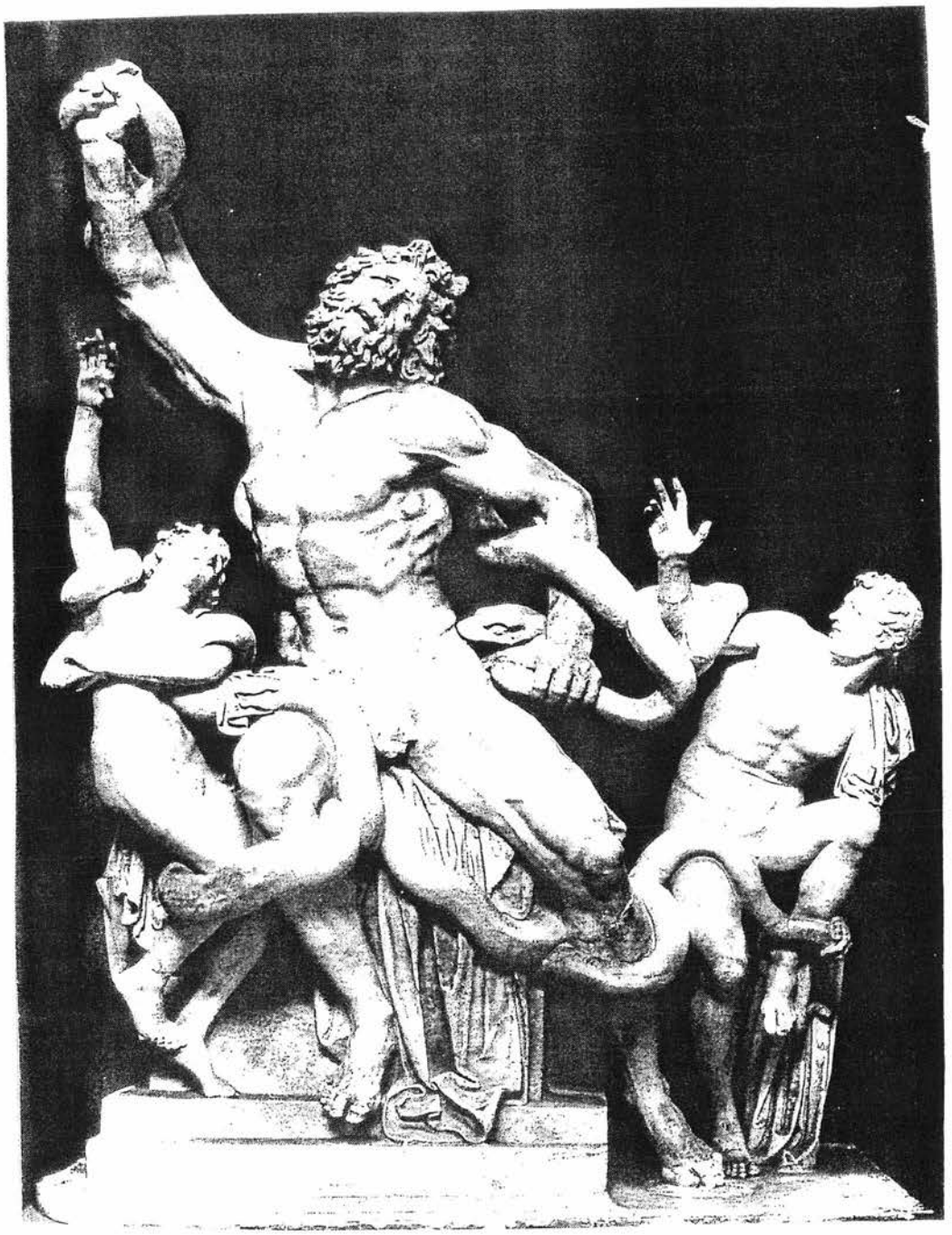


Fig. 157. Laocoön, Rome, Vatican Museum.

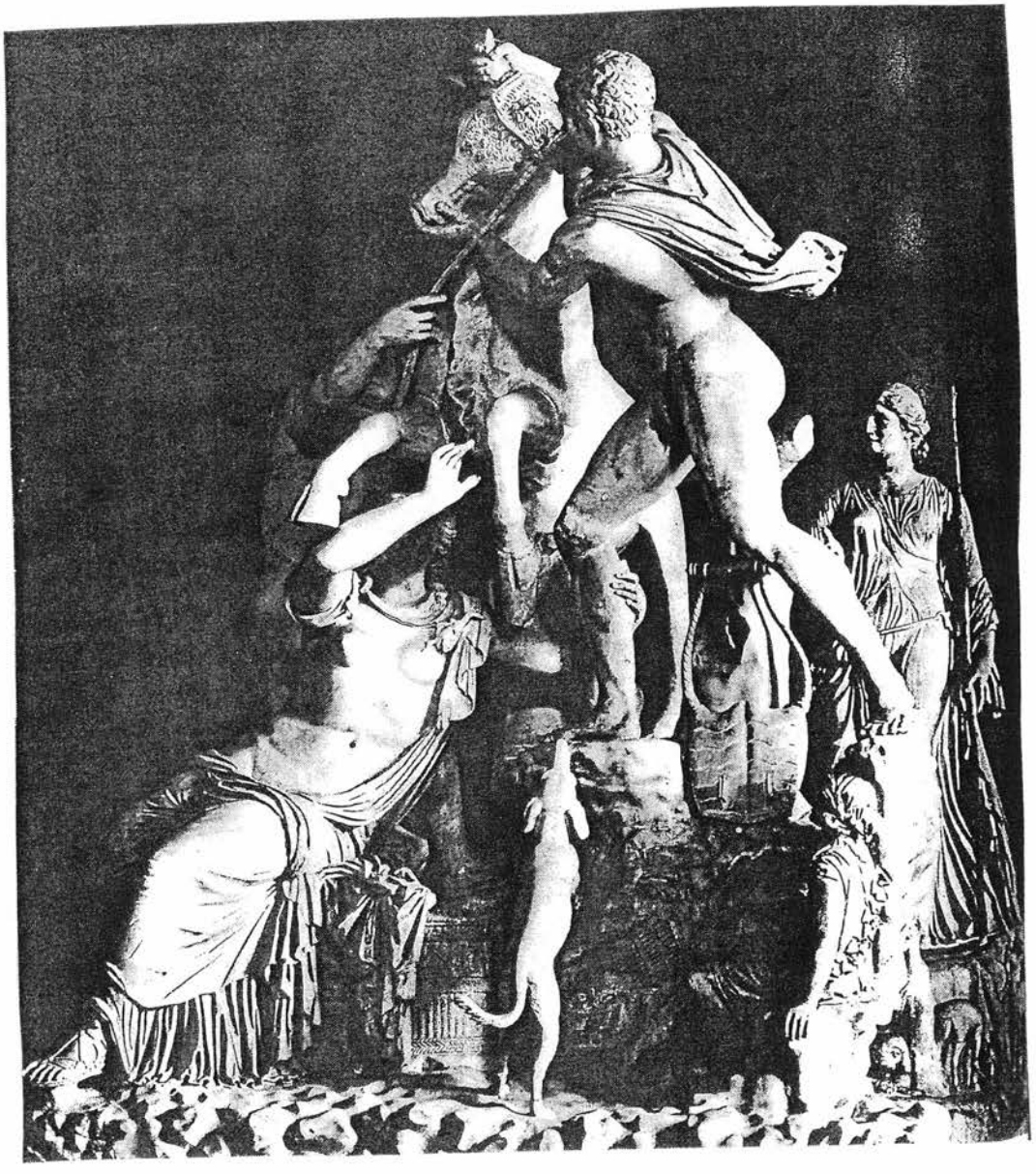


Fig. 158. Farnese Bull, Naples, Museo Nazionale.